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ABSTRACT

The history of the church colleges of Illinois and Indiana is presented to illustrate the part Christian higher education played in cultural and social development of the Upper Mississippi Valley. The founding of Christian colleges in Indiana and Illinois is divided into three stages: the pioneer period (1820-1854), the sectarian era (1855-1890), and the urban phases (1890-1950). (SPG)

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Uncommon Schools: Christian Colleges and Social Idealism in Midwestern America, 1820-1950

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THE HISTORY of the church colleges of Illinois and Indiana illustrates the part Christian higher education played in the cultural and social development of the Upper Mississippi Valley. The initial reluctance of the governments of the two states to champion public education gave the evangelicals who established the first colleges both the freedom and responsibility to shape the values and institutions of an emerging democratic society. More indigenous to the West and less sectarian than is often supposed, the pioneer schools encouraged freedom of association, promoted the economic welfare of groups and individuals, and in both word and deed affirmed the worth of utilitarian as well as classical learning. They nurtured order and morality in community life and set standards of civic leadership for a half century.¹

The two states were socially and geographically more representative of the Old Northwest than any others. They each contained large sections of all three topographies typical of the region: the rolling Ohio Valley country to the south, the glaciated regions of the Great Lakes, and in Illinois especially, the treeless plains between, whose sod the second generation of settlers broke with iron plows and sowed to corn and wheat. Each of the three streams of immigration that played a decisive part in the development of midwestern culture flowed steadily into them. Pioneers coming chiefly from the Appalachian South occupied southern Indiana and Illinois early and in large numbers. The New England and Pennsylvania migrations gave a contrasting regional flavor to the counties northwest of a line running from Alton to Muncie.² And as the century progressed many foreign groups, including the Catholic Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, English, Slavs, and Canadians, whether in search of mining or industrial jobs or good farmland, contributed large numbers to each state's population. Meanwhile, the rapid growth of Chicago and its satellite cities produced a sharper contrast between urban and rural environments than the other midwestern states experienced. The religious and educational history of the two commonwealths, therefore, was a microcosm of both regional and national experience.

The founding of Christian colleges in Indiana and Illinois moved forward in three stages. The history of the pioneer period, which ran from John Finley Crowe's establishment of Presbyterian Hanover in 1826 until mid-century, is well known but poorly understood. Hanover, Shurtleff, McKendree, Illinois, Wabash, DePauw, Franklin, Knox, Illinois Wesleyan, and Lutheran Illinois State University stemmed as much from the broad social concerns of Protestant churchmen for public education as from the need of their sects for trained clergymen.* In their early years, most of them depended upon a large degree of interdenominational co-operation. Moreover, some of their leaders actively promoted the establishment of state universities and teachers colleges, succeeding much earlier in Indiana than in Illinois, and grounded them upon the same pragmatic idealism which had permeated the movement to establish church-related schools.

The operation of numerous factors ushered in after about 1850 what observers on the spot recognized as a more sectarian era. Colleges previously established moved to support more fully the specific interests of their sponsoring communions, while new institutions almost without exception exhibited intense denominational zeal. Simply reciting the names of some of the new schools—Augustana, Earlham, Notre Dame, Carthage, Monmouth, North Western Christian (now Butler), Loyola, Valparaiso, St. Procopius, and Goshen—calls their sectarian sponsorship to mind. Finally, around 1890 the growth of Chicago set in motion a third and urban phase of the college-founding movement. Religious impulses combined with the demands of a technological and business-minded society to create the University of Chicago, to provide a new urban orientation for Northwestern, Lake Forest, Butler, and Loyola, and to alter fundamentally the pattern of higher education throughout the two states. At the same time a religious reaction against the secularizing tendencies of the city prompted the establishment of a new group of sectarian colleges—six of them by Wesleyan “holiness” groups—

* I use the word “sect” uniformly to mean “segment” and as a synonym for “denomination” or “communion,” believing that the distinction between “church” and “sect,” however useful in analyzing European religious history, has little validity for America.

and transformed others, such as Wheaton, into fundamentalist institutions.

In all three epochs, but especially in the pioneer period, church-related colleges were the anvil upon which the relationships between the people's religious traditions and emerging political and social structures were hammered into shape. Christian institutions were the mating ground of faith and culture. Sometimes the educators pressured the more conservative members of their denominations to move ahead with the times. On other occasions, they resisted ideological and social innovations which they believed threatened their hopes for a good society. The mediatorial role of the institutions they founded, as much cultural and social as it was religious, would by itself make a more careful investigation of their history worthwhile. But their contributions to the pragmatic bent of American education, their crucial roles in establishing state-supported schools at all levels, and their persistent friendliness toward science and what was later called progressive theology offer equally important new perspectives from which to rethink the historic role of religion in American culture.

The First Colleges

Although the story of each of the pioneer colleges has been told before, the relationship of the whole group to frontier society is not yet clear. A principal reason is that social historians who have recently studied the period have been preoccupied with conceptions of conflict and social control which are more important to them than they were to the people who settled the Old Northwest.³ The real conflicts of that era do not seem to me to have stemmed from conspiracy by a Whiggish eastern elite to restrain frontier democrats, nor to have reflected a contest between the intellectualism of Yale, Dartmouth, and Princeton and those whom Richard Hofstadter thought were anti-intellectual revivalists.⁴ The educators who came west, like those whom they found already there, *were* revivalists; and some of the most important ones were graduates of Yale and Dartmouth colleges, and Yale, Andover, and Princeton theological seminaries. The conflicts which the contemporary records highlight were between those westerners who welcomed

the young eastern "missionaries" as allies and with their help attacked the ignorance and reversion toward barbarism they thought was growing on the frontier, and other early settlers who resisted their efforts: politicians who valued power and money above schools; farmers and tradesmen unwilling to make sacrifices to educate either their own or their neighbors' children; Christians who thought that home missionary, tract, and education societies were the work of the devil; and those who clung to an elitist preference for classical education which thoughtful Americans everywhere were rapidly abandoning. The founders of the Christian colleges, whether long or recently from the East, believed that schools, like churches, should concentrate more on improving the future than on revering the past. But their ideal of the future was biblical: a righteous society, under the moral government of God.

A second source of confusion is the Yankee myth—the notion first elaborated by the New School Presbyterians, most of whom were of New England Congregationalist background and at one time or another agents of the American Home Missionary Society, that not only the Baptist and Methodist frontier preachers but also the Old School Presbyterians, most of whom were Scotch-Irish and looked to Princeton for theological guidance, resisted the educational awakening. William Warren Sweet long ago explained accurately the equal devotion of the two parties of Presbyterians to Christian culture in the West, and argued for the primacy of the various missionary and educational agencies of the Presbyterian General Assembly over those of New England in promoting academies and colleges in the Ohio Valley, particularly in the years between 1795 and 1830. Nevertheless, a Yankee prejudice long outmoded in American political history continues to dominate the religious and educational history of the region, thanks in part to the availability and marvelous organization of the immense correspondence file of the American Home Mission Society. In recent years, L. C. Rudolph and Richard Power have published general histories of Indiana which, though recognizing that relatively few New Englanders settled in the state, accept the view set forth long ago by Lois Kimball Mathews that Yankees dominated its educational history. This persisting interpretation tends also to support the recent radical critique of the common school movement by educational historians such as

Michael Katz, who maintain that social control by a cohesive Protestant elite is the centerpiece of American educational history.⁵

John Finley Crowe's role in establishing Presbyterian Hanover College illustrates the general concern of frontier preachers for education. A native of Green County, Tennessee, as a youth Crowe taught in the neighborhood school at Bellevue, Missouri, and in 1809 enrolled in Transylvania University, at Lexington, Kentucky, to study for the ministry. While a student, he published an antislavery newspaper off and on, and after graduation represented the Lexington Presbyterian congregation at the General Assembly of 1814, held in Philadelphia. Crowe remained in the East for a year to study at the new Princeton Theological Seminary, then took charge of the academy at Shelbyville, Kentucky, and became pastor of the church there. His antislavery and temperance convictions became increasingly controversial, so in 1823 he gladly accepted a call to Hanover, Indiana, on the Ohio River forty miles north of Louisville.

Crowe and another southerner, John M. Dickey, immediately began urging the local presbytery to establish a school. Crowe became its first teacher in 1827, and two years later secured a charter making it the county's public academy. Meanwhile, the Presbyterian General Assembly had authorized the opening of a theological seminary at Hanover, and in 1830 Crowe brought John Matthews from Virginia to be its first professor, though no students above the academy level were yet enrolled. A fire prompted Crowe to wage a successful fund-raising campaign in the East, which enabled the academy to be rechartered in 1832 as Hanover College. It operated thereafter on the manual labor plan, the students earning their tuitions by farm and campus work. Crowe served as vice-president under his old pastor from Lexington days, President James Blythe. The institution survived succeeding crises as it had earlier ones, by the steady commitment of the Old School Presbyterians of southern Indiana to the education of future leaders for what they dreamed would be a Christian society.⁶

John Mason Peck's work at Rock Spring Seminary and its successor, Shurtleff College, illustrates with equal clarity how concerned frontiersmen inspired eastern benevolence. A native of Lyman Beecher's Litchfield, Connecticut, Peck went to St. Louis in 1817, under appointment

from the first General Missionary Convention of the Baptist denomination. Always interested in public education, he established at once a day school for white youngsters, a Sunday school for Negroes and, soon after, an academy in nearby St. Charles. When in 1820 the Convention terminated Peck's appointment, he accepted the patronage of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society and moved to Rock Spring, Illinois, his home for the rest of his life.

Peck's efforts to organize a network of evangelistic and educational agencies enjoyed at first the full support of the Baptist farmer-preachers who had migrated to southern Illinois from Kentucky and Tennessee. In 1818, he persuaded the Illinois United Baptist Association to join with the Missouri and Bethel associations, located west of the Mississippi River, in organizing "The United Society for the Spread of the Gospel." Its object was "to aid in spreading the Gospel and promoting common schools in the western parts of America, both amongst the whites and Indians." The same year Isaac McCoy, pastor at Maria Creek near Vincennes, Indiana, decided to dedicate his life to a mission to the Indians in the Wabash Valley. A revival broke out and in 1824, the Union Baptist Association brought together missionary-minded churches in southwestern Indiana.⁷ Soon, however, Elders Wilson Thompson in Indiana and Daniel Parker in southeastern Illinois were leading Baptist movements which, appealing to the doctrine of predestination, opposed all missionary, educational, and evangelistic measures except preaching the gospel to those apparently "elect." The antission movement flourished after 1825, strengthened by the Jacksonian movement in politics, whose prime target in the region was eastern "money-power," as well as by the poverty and the small size of frontier congregations for which the \$100 annual contribution required for membership in the Baptist Missionary Convention seemed staggering. It appealed strongly to crudely educated pastors who perceived cultivated easterners as a threat to their status.⁸ Peck and his western allies continued to champion the moderated Calvinism and to promote the programs of evangelism and education which were traditional among Baptists in America. Many Indiana congregations and some of the associations were soon to renounce the doctrine of predestination, partly in reaction against the antission caricature of it.

Their aims, however, transcended sectarianism. Baptists in the Ohio Valley, as well as those in Virginia and New England, were heirs of the Puritan idea that churchmen were responsible for the culture of the whole community.⁹

In the summer of 1826, Peck returned to New England to plead for support for the establishment of a humble theological school at Rock Spring, to be operated under the manual labor plan, with a curriculum suited to the "wants of a new and frontier country." He believed the foremost need of the West was an educated clergy; "I cannot bear," he wrote, "that our preachers in Illinois and Missouri should continue as ignorant as some of them now are."¹⁰ Peck was equally concerned, however, to establish and train teachers for common schools. Since western Baptists could not possibly sustain two colleges, he planned to enroll nontheological students at small cost, "upon condition of their teaching in the country for a period."¹¹ Peck raised enough money on this trip to enable the Rock Spring Seminary to begin classes the next year, in a frame building which was little more than an enlarged farmhouse. Since only a handful of students attended, by 1831, when the Reverend Jonathan Going came from Massachusetts to study the educational needs of the Ohio Valley, Peck was ready to move to a new location. After a three-month tour on horseback through prospective towns, Peck and Going decided upon Upper Alton. The selection had nothing to do with agrarian mythology. The two preachers thought the proximity of this place to the junction of the Missouri and the Mississippi rivers would one day make it the largest city in the state.¹²

Steady opposition from the antimission party, whose strength grew as preachers arrived in increasing numbers from Kentucky and Tennessee, hindered the already feeble efforts of the board of trustees to get the school into operation at Upper Alton. An antimission pastor who was a member of the Illinois legislature blocked the early attempts to secure a charter. Some funds came from sales of lots from land bought in large tracts and subdivided.¹³ By 1835, however, Peck had to set out on another long journey East, seeking money to place the college on a sound basis. New York and New England Baptists responded generously to his appeals. The most important event was the contribution of ten thousand dollars by Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff, and the

renaming of the college in his honor. Several New York businessmen proposed a large-scale land speculation for the benefit of the school. They offered to purchase any or all plots held by the trustees and to authorize Peck to buy in their name additional Illinois lands, all to be held against a rise in prices. The college was to have the increase at the time of sale, after a deduction of six percent interest for the promoters. To Peck's great disappointment, the trustees did not accept the proposition. Soon after, the Panic of 1837 sharply reduced the ability of easterners to pay the pledges they had made.¹⁴

The support Jesse Lynch Holman gave to the Indiana Baptist educational endeavors, which resulted in the establishment of Franklin College in 1834, also illustrates indigenous western leadership. A Baptist preacher and school teacher during his youth in Fayette County, Kentucky, Holman was admitted to the bar and practiced law briefly in that state before moving with his wife and young child to a homestead overlooking the Ohio below Cincinnati. He helped lay out the nearby town of Aurora, rose to prominence through his law practice and in 1817, when thirty-three years of age, was appointed one of three justices of the new state's supreme court, an office he held for fourteen years. Meanwhile, he preached often among Indiana Baptists, promoted missions to the Indians, temperance, Sunday school and tract societies, and helped found Aurora Seminary, chartered in 1823.¹⁵

Retiring from politics after an unsuccessful campaign for the United States Senate in 1831, Holman threw himself into his farm and law practice, and into religious and educational activities. He established the Indiana Bible Society in 1831, was elected Dearborn County Superintendent of Schools the next year, and in 1833 became president of the Indiana State Baptist Convention. The following year, the Baptist congregation in Aurora ordained him its pastor. He had meanwhile become president of the Western Baptist Publication and Sabbath School Society and vice-president of the American Sabbath School Union. Jonathan Going's American Baptist Home Missionary Society, of which Holman was one of numerous vice-presidents, sent a handful of missionary pastors, most of them from Ohio, Kentucky, or further south, to help Holman and his Indiana allies deal with the growing antimissionary party. In June, 1834, twelve pastors, only three of them newly-

arrived easterners, met to name trustees for a Baptist school, and thereafter organized the Indiana Baptist Education Society. The Indiana Manual Labor Institute, which ten years later became Franklin College, opened that fall in the village whose name it eventually assumed. The constitution of the school, which Holman wrote, declared its purpose, thus: "to promote a more general knowledge of Science, Literature, and Biblical criticism, through the Baptist connection in Indiana."¹⁶

Opposed to slavery by religious conviction, but a supporter of the American Colonization Society, Holman stood by family background, experience, and Baptist affiliation close to the mass of ordinary Hoosiers; but his learning and his evangelical impulse to act through institutions to Christianize society thrust him into the movement for popular education. When President Jackson named him federal district judge for Indiana, and when he was elected a member of the original Board of Trustees for Indiana State University, the interweaving of his public and private careers as a Baptist lawyer and preacher was complete.¹⁷

Both Shurtleff and Franklin came very near to dissolution during the following decades.¹⁸ Baptist ministers in Chicago sought first to control and then to destroy the Illinois institution. Two brothers on the Shurtleff faculty who were natives of Massachusetts, Warren and Washington Leverett, won and held the esteem of southern Illinois Baptists. But in 1855, Chicago men used a trumped-up charge of liberalism among the faculty to force a series of resignations, then persuaded the trustees to elect one of their number, J. C. Burroughs, president. For a whole year Burroughs refused either to accept or decline the office, meanwhile laboring feverishly to get the Baptist Chicago University under way. Thereafter, deprived of the support of their denomination in northern Illinois, friends of Shurtleff elected as acting president the rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Alton, S. Y. McMasters. He served admirably, and brought the college through its time of troubles.¹⁹

The careers of Holman, Crowe, and Peck, like that of Peter Cartwright which I shall recount in a moment, affirm that the Christian vision of community building was indigenous to pioneer culture, although the westerners—here defined as persons who either grew up in the Ohio Valley or spent their entire adult careers there—welcomed

such helpers as came from the East. The aims of the two Baptist educators harmonized denominational and regional objectives in a manner which sounds strange to modern ears. Conflicts among Baptists troubled both schools more than strife with rival sects. Their curricular and financial organization displayed a typical frontier marriage of the traditional and the novel, the classical and the practical. And an even more typical mixture of economic and idealistic motives inspired the dream of building in each of their sponsoring villages both a college and a city to the mutual profit of all concerned.

Illinois and Wabash colleges, whose New England sponsorship made them favorite subjects for historians, in fact originated in a similar union of western and eastern idealism, though Yankee agents of the American Home Missionary Society were the catalysts. John M. Ellis, a graduate of Dartmouth College and Andover Theological Seminary and a western missionary of the society, began as early as 1827 to urge the Presbytery of Missouri, which included Illinois, to establish a college. A committee of the presbytery surveyed several promising locations but finally decided upon Jacksonville, both because of the beauty of the available site and the obvious enthusiasm of its citizens. Ellis soon moved to the Presbyterian Church in Jacksonville and became deeply involved with prominent local residents in plans for the construction of the college building. Early in 1829, Mason Grosvenor, a student at Yale, wrote to Ellis proposing to organize a missionary group from that year's graduating class to evangelize and educate a section of the West. Negotiations were soon completed for the "Yale Band" to take over actual direction of Illinois College. The first president was Edward Beecher, one of the "band" and a son of the famous Litchfield revivalist, Lyman Beecher. These arrangements, sealed by \$10,000 raised in the East, made the Jacksonville college and community seem to the Yankee imagination a little New Haven in Illinois. Western men and western conditions, however, persuaded the young managers of the enterprise to make numerous departures from the Yale model. In the early years, a manual labor system of self-support for students ran its course. And the teachers who came out from the East—Julian M. Sturtevant, Truman M. Post, and Jonathan B. Turner—quickly adjusted

their traditional preferences for a classical education to one designed to meet at least some of the practical needs of a pioneer society.²⁰

Similar circumstances prevailed at Wabash. Ellis was senior advisor to the group of young Presbyterian ministers who united in November, 1832, to establish a college at Crawfordsville, Indiana, a new frontier county seat. Some of the founding clergymen and laymen, notably James Carnahan, pastor at Lafayette, James Thompson, pastor at Crawfordsville, and his brother John Thompson, who joined the faculty in 1834, were born and educated in the Ohio Valley. The dominant personalities, however, were Yankees of Congregationalist background, notably home missionary Edmund O. Hovey, a native of New Hampshire and a graduate of Dartmouth and Andover.²¹

Tensions between New and Old School Presbyterians, traceable in large measure to the resistance of Scotch-Irish and other Princeton-trained pastors to the quasi-perfectionist and Arminian "New Divinity" which Nathaniel Taylor, Lyman Beecher, and the faculties at Yale and Andover had developed to counter Unitarianism and to sustain revivalism, were especially critical at Crawfordsville. In August, 1832, seven of nine Presbyterian congregations in the local association declared for the Old School theology, and voted disapproval of benevolent, temperance, Sunday school, mission, and tract societies.²² The trustees of the college, however, remained sufficiently united to get under way. Westerner Williamson Dunn, the federal land officer in Crawfordsville who had provided the site for Hanover College in 1827, also donated a campus of fifteen acres for Wabash. The influence of missionary funds and ideology was clear, however, in the appointments of Caleb Mills, also a Dartmouth and Andover graduate, to be the first teacher to join Hovey on the faculty, and of Elihu Baldwin, a revivalist and Yale graduate whom the faculty at Yale had recommended, to be the first president. Baldwin's experience as a city missionary in New York and as founder and for ten years pastor of the Seventh Presbyterian Church he organized there placed him clearly in the "New Divinity" camp.²³

Probably the fight to win a corporate charter from the state of Indiana strengthened denominational loyalties among the Crawfordsville group enough to counteract the growing tensions. Charter opponents

both in the local community and the state legislature talked ominously of a Presbyterian theocracy, pointing to the fact that the three other colleges in the state—Vincennes, Hanover, and the infant institution which was to become Indiana University—were in the hands of Presbyterian ministers. The Wabash board had to accept amendments to their constitution and by-laws which gave contributors the right to vote in trustee elections and eliminated all reference to the institution's Presbyterian connections.²⁴ But also important in keeping the group together was their common alarm, as the minutes of their first meeting put it, at "the low state of common school education in the country," and their conviction that only such institutions as the one they projected, located in the West and supported directly by western congregations, could adequately train the teachers and clergymen which a pioneer society required.²⁵

What gave the Yankee influence continuing preponderance was the emphasis their New School theology placed upon human choice and action—and money. Hovey and President Baldwin raised over \$28,000 in the East in 1834 and 1835, thanks in part to a strong endorsement from the *New York Observer*, a Presbyterian weekly which was moving toward the Old School position. Then, as in later years, agents of the college were careful to secure from each eastern subscriber a proxy authorizing the trustees to cast his or her vote in the next elections to the board.²⁶

The great crisis came at Illinois and Wabash when the Panic of 1837 dried up the stream of eastern support, thus compounding the problems which the expulsion of the New School Presbyterians from the national General Assembly had aggravated. Presbyterians of southern background stepped up their opposition to both Presidents Beecher and Baldwin. The New Englanders were interested primarily in promoting Christian civilization, which to them included not only New School evangelism and theology, but temperance, public education, and often antislavery agitation as well. Their letters suggested that the southern and western conservatives were, by contrast, primarily sectarians, intent merely upon building up Presbyterianism. Behind this distortion was a circumstance the Yankees rarely understood: the teachings of the "New Divinity" sounded in western ears much like those of the

Methodists, who had for decades been gaining points against the Presbyterians by scorning the doctrines of predestination and imputed righteousness.

Although the faculty members at both colleges restrained their tendencies toward reform Congregationalism and accepted for the time being many constraints imposed upon them by the political and social conservatism dominant among Presbyterians in southern Indiana and Illinois, the two institutions remained in the New School camp.²⁷ In 1838, the fine new building at Wabash burned to the ground, and on the day after commencement, the Presbyterian congregation in Crawfordsville voted to split, leaving the Old School group in possession of the church building. Baldwin went east again to raise funds. Pressured by both sides to state the position of the college, he declared Wabash to be firmly committed to the New School.²⁸ That his statement reflected the views of the westerners as well as the few easterners on the board of trustees was soon evident. When Baldwin died in 1841, the trustees immediately elected as his successor Charles White, who was, like the two faculty stalwarts Hovey and Mills, a graduate of both Dartmouth and Andover, and a product of the "New Divinity."²⁹

If the Baptist and Presbyterian colleges were fruits of a determination shared in both the East and West to make midwestern society Christian, other pioneer institutions were clearly products of frontier piety. Included in this group were the Methodist institutions, McKendree, Indiana Asbury, Illinois Conference Female Seminary (later MacMurray College), and Illinois Wesleyan; as well as Presbyterian Knox College at Galesburg, and a short-lived Lutheran school, Illinois State University, located at Springfield.

The story of the Methodist institutions ought to be better known, for it dispels the myth that frontier preachers such as Peter Cartwright were opposed to higher education. As early as September, 1827, Cartwright urged upon his fellow circuit riders the founding of a Methodist college in Illinois, and thereafter personally directed the establishment of McKendree. He encouraged the citizens of Lebanon to subscribe \$1,385, erect a simple building, and announce the opening of "a seminary of learning, to be conducted, as nearly as may be, on the plan of the Augusta College of Kentucky." The course of study at Augusta had

combined theological and classical studies with training in those practical arts which seemed "necessary for a new-settled country," namely architecture, surveying, and agriculture.³⁰ In 1830, Cartwright persuaded the Methodist conference to adopt the Lebanon institution as its own. Bishop William McKendree donated three quarter-sections of land, thus giving it his name, and the denomination's presiding elders in Illinois laid upon every circuit rider the duty of raising funds for its support. During his two terms in the state legislature Cartwright promoted the cause of common schools, and, as chairman of the Committee on Education in the lower house, introduced the first bill calling for the creation of a state-supported college. He also was a leader in the long campaign that in 1835 secured state charters for McKendree, Shurtleff, and Illinois. In 1836 the conference education committee, which he chaired, urged Methodist preachers and laymen to organize grammar schools in every county and circuit. Cartwright personally aided in establishing many of these.³¹

College level study began at McKendree in 1836, and the trustees launched a financial program which embraced the full range of expedients adopted by western colleges: "perpetual" scholarships; two schemes for land speculation, in both of which the college was to act as agent for interested investors; and widespread appeals for direct gifts. Virtually all of the money came from westerners. By 1845, when McKendree closed briefly for lack of funds, the Methodists had become the most numerous denomination in both Indiana and Illinois, but not many of their members were wealthy. The leaders realized that the support of McKendree and Indiana Asbury must come chiefly from the sacrifices of circuit riders and laymen of modest means. McKendree reopened under a "Conference Finance Plan," which required every lay class leader in the various churches to collect twenty-five cents quarterly from his members and forward it to the college treasurer. In 1849, Cartwright proposed moving McKendree to Bloomington, to secure the co-operation of the two Methodist conferences operating by then in the state in building one strong institution at Illinois Wesleyan. Although the plan failed, Cartwright was a member and, for a time, president of the board of trustees at Wesleyan. During these years he also faithfully supported Peter Akers and John F. Jacques in the establishment of

Illinois Conference Female Seminary at Jacksonville. He served as the first president of the board of the latter institution and personally donated \$1,100 to the campaign to recover it from receivership in 1861.³²

Knox College, a Presbyterian institution originally named Knox Manual Labor Institute, was likewise a child of the frontier. George W. Gale patterned it after the short-lived Institute of Science and Industry he had conducted at Oneida, New York, where he had taught several of Charles G. Finney's converts, including the future abolitionist leader, Theodore Dwight Weld. The founders of Knox determined to stress practical and scientific education, especially agriculture, as at Oneida, and to support the Illinois venture by an immense speculation in lands around what is now Galesburg. Although nominally Presbyterian, the college received little denominational support, and relatively few large gifts from either eastern or western friends. Like Oberlin in Ohio, Knox was closely in step with the movements for humanitarian reform that New School Presbyterians and migrating Congregationalists supported all over the Midwest. This was partly due to the fact that the community at Galesburg was a self-supporting transplant from New York and owed no obligation whatever to the Old School Presbyterians in the Ohio Valley.³³

One of the interesting ironies of the Prairie State's educational history is that Illinois College, founded officially under Presbyterian auspices and bound by many ties to the conservative environment of central and southern Illinois, moved steadily toward Congregationalism in polity, in doctrine, and in antislavery and reform convictions, whereas Knox, really a product of the Finney revivals, moved eventually into a more conservative Presbyterian orbit. Flavel Bascom and Edward Beecher, members of the "Yale Band" who promoted Congregationalism and antislavery sentiment in the early years at Jacksonville, became pastors of Galesburg's two leading churches in the 1840s, perhaps thinking the tide there would run in their direction. Jonathan Blanchard, a social and religious perfectionist and a radical abolitionist, became president at Knox in 1845, and soon after left the Presbyterian for the Congregationalist fold. But in his old age, George Gale, the founder and dominant force at Knox, turned conservative. This may have stemmed in part from the influence of Gale's third wife, an Old

School Presbyterian from St. Louis; certainly his long and bitter personal quarrel with President Blanchard played a part. In any event, Gale won. Knox remained a Presbyterian school; a quietness on the issue of slavery settled over the town; and Blanchard, ousted from Galesburg, moved in 1859 to the presidency of Wheaton College.³⁴

The Lutheran investments in Hillsboro Seminary and Illinois State University likewise attest the educational zeal of ordinary westerners. In January, 1847, citizens of the village of Hillsboro helped Francis Springer's new Synod of Illinois locate a college there. The Synod was an affiliate of the "Americanized" General Synod, in which the English language and revival fervor generally prevailed. In 1849, the Synod directed that the pastor of each local congregation pledge to raise seventy dollars or more for the school during the ensuing year. Simeon W. Harkey, a Maryland pastor, accepted the presidency in 1850 and, before departing for the West, undertook to raise \$10,000 from Lutherans in eastern synods. He apparently did receive generous sums, but on his arrival in Illinois Harkey declared that both he and the eastern contributors disapproved of the isolated location of the school.³⁵

A group of town boosters in Springfield thereupon offered to furnish \$5,000 in cash and a ten-acre tract, and to secure one hundred of the so-called "perpetual scholarships" at three hundred dollars each, if the Lutherans would move the institution to their city, change its name to Illinois State University, and raise an equal amount in cash and scholarships. The Synod's leaders agreed, and both parties apparently raised the promised cash. The legislature promptly granted a charter which made the professor of theology directly responsible to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and authorized departments of "Mechanical Philosophy" and Agriculture, in addition to the usual classical course preparing students for careers in medicine, law, and the ministry. Successive presidents of the Synod gave close attention to college affairs, their chief interest perhaps being to remedy the tremendous shortage of clergymen in a country rapidly filling up with Lutheran immigrants. Few subscribers of scholarships proved willing to refrain from using the free tuition privilege every year; most never paid the face amounts of the scholarship pledges, contributing only interest, as Abraham Lin-

coln did, and letting that lapse as well when their need for free tuition for their sons or nephews had passed.³⁶

Almost at the end of the pioneer period, members of the Disciples of Christ upgraded an academy in Indianapolis to a college, named it North Western Christian University, and announced a scientific as well as classical curriculum. The first president, a former Jacksonian Democrat, soon became active in the Republican Party. The institution grew steadily, enrolling 210 students under five faculty members in 1866. Four years later president Ovid Butler, a wealthy lawyer, endowed and reserved permanently for a woman occupant the "Demia Butler Chair of English Literature" in memory of his daughter, the first woman graduated from "the full classical course." Butler also eliminated entirely "the female college," and invited women thereafter to pursue all branches of study on an equal footing with men.³⁷

The major Catholic institution of the pioneer period, Notre Dame, owed more to France than to New England; but its history illustrates also the force of frontier conditions in shaping the region's colleges. Simon Gabriel Bruté, a Sulpician father made first bishop of Vincennes in 1834, returned to his native France in 1836 and appealed to the vigorous young religious community at Le Mans, later the Congregation of the Holy Cross, to send clergymen to his diocese. In 1841 a group of six priests came, led by the ambitious Father Edward F. Sorin. After an abortive effort to establish a college at their rural retreat near Vincennes, Bruté's successor as bishop, also a Frenchman, gave Sorin the property long held by French Catholic missionaries near South Bend, a frontier settlement separated by many miles of swamps from the thickly populated area of the Wabash Valley. Arriving in November, 1842, as winter settled over the countryside, Sorin and his colleagues set out to establish a college, not in imitation of Old World models but in response to the needs of frontier society. They erected several log buildings and one brick structure, and at the end of the first year announced "a classical course with the higher branches of education," as well as elementary and secondary classes. "In the reception of pupils," the announcement declared, "no distinction of creed will be made, and the parents of those not professing the Catholic Faith, may rest assured that there will be

no interference with their religious tenets." The next year the state senator from the district, a Methodist attorney in South Bend, secured for the institution an extremely broad charter of incorporation from the state.³⁸

Relying upon their splendid site as Notre Dame's principal endowment, the Holy Cross Fathers established immediately a manual labor school, offering training in carpentry, shoemaking, and agriculture, and developed an extensive school farm, complete with dairy, bakery, maple sugar house, and mill. The classical curriculum never attracted more than a dozen students a year, but the trade school flourished, as did a two-year course established in 1855 for "young merchants" which in 1861 became a full-blown commercial department. No theology courses appeared in the curriculum until 1921. Also in 1855, several farms located at the edge of the village of South Bend were subdivided into lots and sold at a large profit. A community named "Sorinsville" appeared, which for the rest of the century provided the college with its labor force, as well as many students and apprentices. By 1866, the new president, William J. Corby, reported 400 students in attendance, plus several hundred more at the manual labor school, under twenty-five faculty members. The university still listed no endowment, but six imposing buildings stood on the campus.³⁹

Thus, by mid-century the most influential denominations in pioneer Indiana and Illinois—the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Disciples of Christ, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran—had each made substantial beginnings in higher education. The founding and direction of their colleges stemmed more from local initiative and personal commitment than from organizational policy; save for the Methodists and Catholics, denominational affiliation was more a symbol of identity than a dependable source of support. Moreover, the indispensable ingredient to the success of each school was an emerging consensus of religious and cultural goals for the society which crossed sectarian lines. All the institutions appealed for students and for financial support from nearby congregations of other persuasions. Their history thus illustrates with special clarity the capacity of popular American piety, whatever its labels, to identify itself with popular culture.

Scholars have long since challenged much of Frederick Jackson Turner's general thesis about the significance of the frontier in American history, yet the study of religious aspects of pioneer society remains a flourishing enterprise. One reason is that the records of new settlements reveal the story of communities in the making whose settlers, though holding some strikingly modern opinions, found in ancient faiths the moral basis of the commitments they must make to create new societies and find their own places in them. The symbols of community by which former strangers affirmed their new oneness, as well as the structures of association which they fashioned to sustain it, were pre-eminently religious. All this became explicit in the rationale of the first colleges in Indiana and Illinois, and in explanations of the systems of value and belief which Christian educators were shaping or sanctioning in their surrounding neighborhoods.

The sum of the contributions of westerners—that is, persons who spent their adult years in the Ohio Valley, rather than the East or the Virginia and Carolina piedmont where many of them were born—seems on reflection so large as to refute those who have argued that the western college movement was simply an extension of Yankee piety, engaged in a counter-reformation against Deism and Jeffersonian democracy or, perhaps, engaged in a nativist crusade against Catholicism.⁴⁰ Only Illinois College's "Yale Band" fits this image, and that imperfectly. The Dartmouth-Andover-Wabash axis brought not Connecticut Whigs but New Hampshire villagers to Indiana—men whose rural background fit them well for leadership in a pioneer culture, and whose passion to convert and civilize was kindled in the revivals which had for the past two decades swept their native state. George W. Gale's followers were Christian radicals from western New York; Oberlin, not Yale, was their model. The supposed elite of Yankee origin could have accomplished little had not their Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist allies whose roots lay in the Appalachian South or the Ohio Valley generated indigenous crusades for learning, morality, and religion.

The Baptist story is especially instructive. John Mason Peck was a guiding force in the establishment of the American Baptist Home Mis-

sionary Society and several related organizations. On his first trip East in 1826, Peck awakened Jonathan Going, youthful pastor at Worcester, Massachusetts, and a champion of college education for New England Baptist ministers, to the moral and educational needs of the West. Five years later, Peck shepherded Going on a long tour of the Ohio Valley, after which the Massachusetts pastor set in motion the plan he and Peck had devised to form a denominational Home Missionary Society. Meanwhile, Peck, Jesse Holman and others formed the General Convention of Western Baptists and its subsidiary, the Western Baptist Education Society. On his selection as secretary of the national society, Going resigned his pulpit in Worcester, and wrote his congregation that "the body of Evangelical Christians in the United States" must soon make "a mighty effort" to deal with "the moral condition of the West," or "ignorance and heresy and infidelity" would "entrench themselves too strongly to be repulsed." If that should happen, Going continued, "it is morally certain that our Republic will be overturned and our institutions, civil and religious, will be demolished." To regard ignorance, heresy, and infidelity as code words for either Jacksonian democracy or Catholicism does not square with the context of Going's remarks. His greatest anxiety stemmed from the growth of heretical, schismatic, and antimission sentiments among Ohio Valley Protestants, chiefly Baptists; ignorance, not democracy, was the enemy he feared. And he chose as models for Baptist action the Methodists, most of whom were Jacksonian Democrats, as well as the New School Presbyterians, who were not.¹¹

Whatever their religious persuasions, such westerners as John F. Crowe, John M. Ellis, John Mason Peck, Jesse L. Holman, Peter Cartwright, Edmund Hovey, and Francis Springer believed themselves to be acting primarily to meet the educational, civic, and social needs of a pioneer society. They thought that they, far more than the eastern missionary societies whose funds they untiringly solicited, were the really effective warriors against ignorance and moral disorganization, whether of the hard-pressed homesteaders, or of the preachers and politicians who opposed the establishment of colleges under the grandiose doctrines of antimission Christianity and frontier democracy. "The prevalence of popular ignorance is truly alarming," wrote the authors of an early *Ap-*

peal on Behalf of Illinois College. A college located in Illinois was "an essential part of any effectual plan to enlighten and elevate the population," for it alone could provide the teachers necessary to build a state system of common schools. The author then explained that the plan for Illinois College was the product of "a union between the friends of learning and religion in that state, and an association formed at the East." Because the venture united in one enterprise "the best feelings of the benevolent and intelligent, in both sections of the country," the local population would not regard the college as "a foreign institution." The American nation was one, the appeal continued, and its citizens should hail "all that can exert an influence to unite in feeling and action the most distant parts of this great community"; for "nothing but a spirit of disinterested and all-pervading benevolence" could keep the nation "united and free."⁴²

Certainly, money given by wealthy easterners was not the decisive factor in the survival of the western colleges. Only in the years 1835 and 1836 did Yankee support promise to become substantial. Even then, if the evidence existing for later years holds true for the earlier situation, the bulk of the contributions came from annual collections in village churches.⁴³ The panic of 1837 not only brought large eastern pledges to a halt, but made it impossible for many of them ever to be paid. In 1840, the Illinois College treasurer's book carried assets other than saleable real estate amounting to \$132,110, a figure which, three years later, had been scaled down to less than \$16,000, chiefly from defaults on notes and pledges. In 1843 western college men themselves organized the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education, in order to divide more equitably the dwindling funds coming from the East. Theron Baldwin, proprietor of a female seminary at Monticello, Illinois, moved to New York to become secretary of the organization. No money was ever raised to pay debts, and the contributions for current expenses were barely sufficient, as one put it, to carry the colleges past "the dead point."⁴⁴ Such control as the Society exerted was in response to Baldwin's plea that they allow solicitation in the East for endowments as well as current expenses for the colleges, so as to be in a position to restrain planning for new institutions. Baldwin argued that only by aiding endowment funds could Congre-

gationalists and New School Presbyterians keep up with the Ohio Valley Methodists, whose systematic organization he envied; and only by firmness in denying such aid to unwise ventures could they prevent the multiplication of competing colleges. This latter goal, he noted, western educators shared fully with eastern donors.⁴⁵

The interplay between religion and pioneer society is also evident from the way in which the colleges depended in their earliest years on the hope of profits from land speculation. Such support as local residents who were not members of the sponsoring communions gave the institutions often resulted from a marriage of the desire for learning with the town-booster's interest in the sale of "city" lots and nearby farmlands.

Not only Shurtleff, Hanover, Knox, Notre Dame, and McKendree, but virtually every Christian college in the region was linked at one time or another to a speculation in real estate. Whether we visit Episcopal Bishop Philander Chase at his country home and school near Peoria, marvelously named "Jubilee College"; or recount the deeds of the women who led Baptist Almira and Lutheran Mendota; or marvel at the fabulous success of Presbyterian Gideon Blackburn's real estate promotion on behalf of Blackburn University, at Carlinville; or simply tally up the landed interests of the community boosters who helped to establish Franklin, Monmouth, Carthage, and Northwestern, the Midwest's easy merging of the values of land and Christian culture was evident in each period of college-founding.⁴⁶

Immigrant churchmen quickly learned how to turn their people's speculative impulse to the glory of the Lord. Augustana College and Seminary survived the Civil War in large measure because T. N. Hasselquist, formerly Lutheran pastor at Galesburg, launched a colonization scheme for the Illinois Central Railroad at Paxton. Even the tiny Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Ansgar Synod commanded a gift of nearly \$13,000 from a banker at Knoxville, in return for locating its short-lived school in his town. At least three separate real estate promotions helped inspire the Swedish Mission Covenant Church, successor to the Ansgar Synod, to launch North Park College, in a North Chicago suburb. Covenant leaders at first accepted a lucrative offer from the Swedish directors of the Belt City Improvement Association, but

the trustees undercut it in 1693 by floating a land speculation of their own.⁴⁷

Viewed in the light of the foregoing examples, Marshall Field's highly publicized "gift" in 1891 of a block of city land to the University of Chicago, packaged as it was with his sale to the university of additional blocks at a price greater than he had originally paid for the whole acreage, was not a new kind of urban chicanery. It was simply an urban extension of the art of real estate manipulation, which college presidents, trustees, and promoters had practiced in downstate settlements for six decades.⁴⁸

The success of the citizens of the new prairie town of Bloomington in bringing to their community two colleges, Illinois Wesleyan and Illinois State Normal, illustrates the way in which this marriage of economic to religious goals affected state as well as denominational institutions. In 1849, laymen of several denominations organized a "teachers institute" at Bloomington, and began meeting once a week to discuss mutual problems. John S. Barger, Methodist presiding elder in the district, soon joined the group and proposed that his denomination sponsor a college there, to be known as Illinois Wesleyan. Citizens of the town persuaded Peter Cartwright and another minister to solicit the support of the Methodist conference for the plan. When the conference put them off, the local group elected a board of trustees, secured land, and erected a temporary building. Then they appealed for conference patronage again, declaring that their plans would not involve the denomination "in either expense or harassing responsibility." This time they were successful. From the outset, of course, the town-builder's economic motives were in conflict with purely religious ones. But long after the Methodists had assumed the chief burden of support for the college, the managers claimed that they had "kept steadily in view the one purpose of disseminating and popularizing a pure, unsectarian, Christian culture."⁴⁹

When the Illinois legislature authorized the establishment of a State Normal University in 1857, Jesse Fell, one of Bloomington's most prominent landowners, spurred the citizens of the community to pledge \$33,500 in cash and \$38,000 in land located near a proposed site, if the state would place the school there. The McLean County Commissioners

added to these pledges the promise of an endowment of lands which they claimed were worth \$141,000, though in fact they were mostly swamp. As President C. A. Harper put it, Jesse Fell believed in education, but he also believed "that an educational institution was the best bait for the prospective purchaser of town lots." He knew what was good bait for a state legislature, too; Bloomington got the school. Thereafter, the first president, C. E. Hovey, faced with desperate financial conditions during the construction of the main building and not to be outdone by any clergyman in the business, borrowed money on the personal notes of board members to send an agent to New York to sell the swamplands to unsuspecting eastern investors. Hovey then staked his personal future in a scheme to promote an artificial land boom among residents of Illinois. He bought \$25,000 worth of undrained lands himself, then had the story whispered about that a large speculator had purchased over seven thousand acres. The ruse worked. State officers invested first, then a scramble set in. The college sold its swamps. Thus what President Harper called the "daring, dauntless courage, unconquerable will and true cunning of Hovey" was a chief factor in preserving the infant normal school which is Bloomington's pride today.⁵⁰

Balanced against the story of speculation, however, is the magnificent display of idealism among the frontier preachers who founded such colleges as Hanover, McKendree, Franklin, and Knox. None denied that their spiritual purposes were combined with a solid expectation of economic gain—for the communities, the educators, and the students. Their pragmatic idealism was a tough alloy, strong enough to bear the kind of stress which broke apart less realistic ventures such as Robert Owen's New Harmony. The leaders of the Knox College community shared Jonathan Blanchard's dream of a perfect society. As at Oberlin and Upper Alton, however, that dream called for private property to be sanctified in Christian benevolence, not abolished. Although proud of their rustic location, the founders believed that many commercial towns would grow up along the great circle of the nearby Mississippi and send students to Knox. They even built their first log cabins some miles distant from the permanent town site, because they wanted Galesburg to have planned and spacious streets, in sharp contrast to the crude vil-

lages growing up so haphazardly in the region. Of no pioneer settlement might it more fittingly be said, in Frederick Jackson Turner's words, that "the wilderness appealed to men as a fair, blank page on which to write a new chapter in the story of man's struggle for a higher type of society."⁵¹

The relationship of faith to frontier society and culture appears also in the way the church college communities served as nerve centers for the voluntary associations which bore the trappings of civilization to pioneer Indiana and Illinois. To be sure, some ministers acting as individuals made significant contributions to the development of a Christian moral order. But their major accomplishments depended upon the community of organized effort in Sunday school, tract, education, and temperance societies fostered by the founders of the Christian colleges. We are told that by their second New Year's Day on the prairies, the Knox College settlers had established an antislavery prayer meeting, an antislavery society, a singing school, two women's prayer meetings, a maternal association, a sewing society, and, wondrous grace, a moral reform society, dedicated to reclaiming fallen women.⁵²

The leaders of all the major denominations believed their mission in the West to be a civilizing one, and not simply the conversion of individual sinners. The Yankees at Jacksonville and Crawfordsville were not far ahead of others on this point. Consider Francis Springer's declaration, in his annual report as president of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod for 1847, that the crucial conflict in the Midwest was between Christian civilization and barbarism. The proposed institution at Hillsboro would, he believed, "contribute materially towards the diffusion of true science, the prevalence of a virtuous literature and the predominance of sound and wholesome morality." The following year, a speaker before the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church insisted that the denomination's schools "must comprehend the whole circle of learning and be open to all." If Methodists should organize colleges solely for their own people, and provide in them instruction chiefly in their own "peculiar views," they would find themselves "a bigoted sect instead of an enlightened and liberal church." He urged his audience to remember both "the social character" of America's "common Christianity," and their obligation to "seek to

introduce it into the social life of the nation, and make it the ruling element there."⁵³ As late as 1872, by which time the establishment of the two state universities and several normal schools had caused some Baptists to question whether their denomination still had an obligation to educate for secular vocations, the new president of Shurtleff College declared, in words reminiscent of John M. Peck, that "the highest development of Christianity in mankind can be secured only in connection with the greatest advance in culture and learning." The church, he said, must continue to seek to educate the masses: "we advance the cause of Christ by all culture."⁵⁴

The voluntary character of the Christian college movement ought not, however, to obscure understanding of another aspect of the connection between popular religion and pioneer society: their founders and early faculties were at every stage mainstays of campaigns for state-supported systems of public schools.

At the outset, both the churchmen and the legislators assumed, in harmony with the settlement of the church-state issue which finally prevailed by the time Thomas Jefferson became president, that the main burden of promoting elementary schooling would rest upon voluntary organizations, especially churches. The educational provisions of the Land Ordinance for the Old Northwest, which the Confederation Congress had adopted in 1785, antedated this settlement, however. It reflected the earlier hope of the country's founding fathers for a national system of publicly-supported education, composed of free elementary schools in each neighborhood, academies in each county, a university in each state, and a "national university" capping the whole structure. The Ordinance set aside one square mile of land in each township of thirty-six square miles to support primary schools. In separate acts in 1804, 1814, and 1816, Congress appropriated two whole townships in each state for the establishment and support of "seminaries of learning," a phrase which then referred to academies generally, rather than to theological institutions. When Indiana attained statehood, its constitution declared that "knowledge and learning generally diffused through a community being essential to the preservation of a free government," the legislature must carefully improve and seek the maximum possible income from lands granted to the state for the support of schools and, "as soon as circumstances will permit" pro-

vide for "a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all."⁵⁵

The eventual result of these divergent impulses was a general public policy of relying on local initiative, provided chiefly by churchmen, to generate the founding of schools—whether elementary, secondary, or collegiate—which would put the state's resources to use. Although the Indiana legislature managed eventually to accumulate a princely educational fund, not for decades were counties or townships required to establish schools of any sort, or given access to significant amounts of money to support them. In Illinois, the state government sold the federal lands belonging to its academy or "Seminary Fund" long before either their potential value or the legislature's educational plans justified it. Proceeds from the sale, together with the income to the "College or University Fund," provided in the act of 1818 granting statehood, were borrowed without interest to finance various adventures of the state government. The interest was never repaid.⁵⁶

What was accomplished in midwestern education by 1850 was due largely to the immense labors of the men who were responsible for creating the Christian colleges. By the 1820s churchmen everywhere in America had embraced the system of voluntary support of religion which separation of church and state required; consequently, the Ohio Valley's pioneer educators devoted less energy than modern historians of education have to excoriating the legislatures. Instead, they promoted community efforts to establish "common" elementary schools and academies where, for a modest tuition, all the young people of a neighborhood might receive the beginnings of an education. While Caleb Mills was still in New Hampshire, contemplating the move to Crawfordsville, Edmund Hovey wrote him that "public sentiment must be changed in regard to free schools, prejudice must be overcome, and the public mind awakened to the importance of carrying the means of education to every door." Such a change was exactly what Jesse Holman, John M. Peck, Theron Baldwin, and Peter Cartwright had been working at for a decade.⁵⁷

During the 1830s, Christian educators in every college in the two states redoubled these efforts both to teach the children of that generation and to awaken popular sentiment for a public and tax-supported

system. The primary western mission of Jonathan Going's Massachusetts Baptist Education Society was to promote elementary instruction, and not, in fact, to aid colleges like Shurtleff and Franklin. Going's strategy, worked out in consultation with Peck and Holman, was first to send out agents to survey educational needs and then to persuade prominent citizens to establish a common school and sponsor a teacher from the East to conduct it. The teachers he sent, in turn, were to promote the general educational awakening in every possible way and to fulfill their specifically Baptist mission only in extracurricular fashion, by operating Sunday schools on the Lord's day.⁷⁸

All of the early Indiana and Illinois colleges functioned for a decade or more after their founding primarily as county academies, and they have always placed heavy emphasis upon training teachers for common schools. At Wabash, for instance, President Charles White declared in 1847 that the aims of the college were "the creation of eminent scholarship, the improvement and extension of primary education, the establishment of a superior and Christian Civilization." A member of the Yale Band founded Illinois' first "teacher's seminary" at Waverly, in 1837. By 1855 the Ladies Association for Educating Females, at Jacksonville, had spent over \$7,000 helping to educate more than five hundred young women, most of whom were by then teaching school. What became the Illinois State Teachers Association was organized at a convention held at Bloomington in 1853; twenty of the thirty persons present were presidents or professors in the church colleges. This convention also persuaded the governor to call a special session of the legislature which authorized the inauguration of a statewide system of public schools, under Superintendent Newton D. Bateman, a graduate of Illinois College. The convention also originated *The Illinois Teacher*, the first notable educational journal published in the state.⁷⁹

All of the denominations participated also in the expansion of secondary schools. In Illinois alone, Methodists were responsible for a score or more. The story of W. W. Martin's academy at Livonia, Indiana, is a fair index to what was happening throughout the region. Reared and educated at Presbyterian schools in Paris, Kentucky, this Old School pastor was the nearest thing to a bishop Indiana Presbyterians ever knew. With the help of his wife and one of his daughters

he operated the academy for two decades after 1819. Devoted on principle to coeducation, and as concerned with training teachers as with preparing young men for college, the Martin family gave the school and community a civilizing mission. Three of the sons became Presbyterian ministers, and several of the daughters married New School ministers from New England.⁶⁰ In the deep South such private and denominational academies lingered on for decades, eventually becoming symbols if not supports of social privilege. But in Illinois and Indiana most of them quickly became units of the public high school systems once the legislatures got around to establishing them. When a Galesburg citizen suggested, at a town meeting in 1858, that the proposed public high school might divert attendance from Knox College Academy, Knox President Jonathan Blanchard jumped to his feet and declared, "if Knox Academy stands in the way of public schools for Galesburg, perish the Academy."⁶¹

At mid-century, Caleb Mills led the way in establishing Indiana's public school system, demonstrating how fallacious was Horace Mann's prediction that "colleges and academies never will act downward to raise the mass of the people by education."⁶² A year after Mann wrote those words, Mills, signing himself simply "One of the People," published in the *Indiana State Journal* the first of five messages to the state legislature calling for the maintenance at public expense of free elementary schools in every township, under minimal standards set by law. When such schools depended on the popular will alone, he wrote, apathy or opposition from an influential minority deprived children of the literacy and simple learning they needed in a prosperous and democratic society.

At the Indiana Constitutional Convention of 1850, John I. Morrison, principal of an academy at Salem and chairman of the Committee on Education, secured the adoption of a provision establishing a Department of Public Instruction. The first legislature to meet under the new constitution responded to Caleb Mills's final message and enacted a comprehensive school law. In 1854 Mills was elected state superintendent of public instruction. His annual report for 1856 described visits to the commencement exercises of several church colleges. "Though these institutions are the products of private associated enterprise, over which

the State is entitled to no oversight or control," Mills wrote, their faculties "cherish a much more cordial interest in the advancement of popular education, and have a much more direct and effective agency in its real progress, than the superficial observer supposes, or is disposed to acknowledge." The baccalaureate addresses of their presidents, along with that of the president of Indiana University, were "delivered before popular assemblies," Mills continued, and "accomplished more to rouse the public mind . . . in reference to its educational interests, than the combined efforts of all the ignorant, prejudiced, self-conceited college croakers since the flood."⁶³

Indeed, the association of spiritual with educational concerns remained for decades a chief characteristic of the teaching profession in Indiana and Illinois. Clergymen served as county and city superintendents; teachers institutes devoted sessions to methods of Sunday school work; and at least three church colleges, Illinois Wesleyan, McKendree, and Knox, elected as their presidents former state superintendents of instruction.⁶⁴ Well might Newton Bateman declare, in his inaugural address as president of Knox in 1875, that the public schools were "the noblest legacy bequeathed by Christian learning to the nation and the age," though the gift was "sometimes forgotten, or even denied, by those who as beneficiaries should be most grateful."⁶⁵

Their interest in preparing teachers for public schools highlights yet another aspect of the contribution of the pioneer colleges to the emerging social structure: they organized their curriculums around their students' vocational objectives and thus gave a tremendous impetus to the pragmatic tendencies of American education.

To be sure, Illinois College soon abandoned both its experiment with manual labor and its academy, in order to concentrate as Hanover did upon the classical curriculum. But since this curriculum was used to train men for the "learned professions" of the ministry, law, and medicine, it constituted what the nineteenth century believed was the proper preparation for those vocations, not a norm for all college students.⁶⁶ Elsewhere, the manual labor system persisted, as indicated by the original names of institutions which much later became champions of the liberal arts—Wabash Teacher's Seminary and Manual Labor College; Indiana Manual Labor Institute (Franklin College); and Knox

Manual Labor Institute. Vocational curriculums reflected not only a backwoods but also a national conviction that education should be practical. Wilbur Fisk declared at his inauguration as president of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, in 1832, that the aim of the recently-blossoming Methodist colleges was to educate men "both willing and competent to effect the political, intellectual, and spiritual regeneration of the world." For this end, degrees recognizing proficiency in "modern literature and in the sciences," he said, should have equal honor with those certifying knowledge of the classics.⁶⁷

In 1844, the Knox College trustees, appealing for support to the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education, omitted reference to their manual labor program and laid out a traditional classical course of study which they hoped would impress the society's board, chiefly easterners. In reply, a committee commended the applicants for their appreciation of what was required for the learned professions but advised them that, since Illinois College was already striving to fill that need, the Knox trustees should plan an institution which would help meet other pressing requirements of a pioneer society. Specifically, they suggested that Knox maintain a high quality preparatory school; a normal department "in which young men might receive two, three, or four years of systematic and thorough instruction, with [the] privilege of teaching common schools during a portion of each"; and a department in which the study of the practical arts of agriculture, on a "model and experimental farm," might be combined with "the acquisition of general Scientific Knowledge."⁶⁸ The faculty found it easy to follow this advice, for it was in harmony with the philosophy of education which was already pervasive in the Midwest.⁶⁹ Jonathan B. Turner, a member of the original Yale Band at Illinois College, eventually became professor of agriculture at Knox and laid out the orchards and the experimental farm on which he popularized the Osage orange hedgerow as a means of fencing the open prairie.⁷⁰ By 1860, virtually every college in both states had adjusted its "scientific" curriculum to the task of training farmers, mechanics, and engineers.⁷¹

Church-sponsored colleges for women, as well as coeducational schools, also resisted the attractions of merely ornamental culture and

set out to train girls to be homemakers, ministers' wives, school teachers, and helpmates on the farm. Educators born and reared in the Ohio Valley, such as Holman, Cartwright, and Martin, appear in retrospect as deeply committed to such education for women as any of the New Englanders.⁷² H. L. Wayland, president of Franklin College, represented by 1871 a regional consensus. He told the delegates attending the Western Baptist Educational Convention at Chicago in 1871 that "women, no less than men, should be self-reliant, forceful, in a word, independent." Baptist colleges should train each woman in "an industry, a means of support," he said, and "teach her her rights, and enable her to maintain them." They "should teach her to judge, to reason, to form her own opinions, and to rely upon them."⁷³

At mid-century Jonathan B. Turner proposed to extend this Christian approach to vocational education to a state-supported institution. He announced his "Plan for a State University for the Industrial Classes" of Illinois at a county teachers institute in 1850 and reiterated it the next year at a convention of farmers, clergymen, and other professional men at the Presbyterian church in Granville. Turner argued that a university devoted to the agricultural and industrial arts and fully equipped with scientific and industrial laboratories and experimental farms and orchards would create for the working classes an industrial literature adapted to their occupational needs, educate teachers and lecturers for subordinate institutes, and sustain by scientific research in agriculture the state's largest enterprise. He insisted that, just as lawyers were responsible for legal education and clergymen for theological, the mass of the farming and working people must themselves elect the trustees who would control the training of youngsters for agricultural and industrial tasks. Indeed, he declared, neither legislative nor church authorities ought to interfere with the people's right to "devise a system of liberal education for themselves."⁷⁴

Turner's speech to the Chicago and Springfield conventions of the "Industrial League" in 1853 displayed the essentially religious basis of his plan. He first denounced the Prussian model of education, which Henry P. Tappan had recently popularized at the University of Michigan. The aim of teaching, Turner said, is "true manhood," not "mere learning." In order for every man to be a part of that great order of

progress which was the "law of matter and of mind," each must have specialized training for his own calling. Reflecting then upon the growing popularity of military academies, he asked whether the Creator had "so made the world that peculiar schools, peculiar applications of science, and a peculiar resultant literature are found indispensable to the highest success in the art of killing men" but entirely unnecessary to "the infinitely multifarious arts and processes of feeding, clothing, and housing them?" The assumption that the vast majority of men were condemned to a vocation "in which the best and highest development of their noblest faculties is a sheer impossibility" was, Turner said, blasphemy. God had made the first Adam a gardener, and sent him out of the Garden after the Fall to repair in honest toil the ruin his sin had wrought. The popular response to Turner's plan may in the long run have helped to inspire the passage of the Morrill Act. It certainly led directly to the founding in 1867 of the Illinois Industrial University, known since 1885 as the University of Illinois.⁷⁵

Everyone acquainted with the history of higher education in Illinois knows the story of the efforts which the church colleges made, after the Morrill Act was passed in 1862, to persuade the state to place in their hands the administration of the Morrill Act's land grants. Shurtleff and Knox colleges pooled their forces to promote the establishment of two agricultural colleges, one for the northern and one for the southern part of the state, which they obviously intended to become extensions of their own campuses.⁷⁶ Their efforts were thwarted by Turner, who by this time stood at the head of a powerful farmers' movement, intent upon an independent, state-supported agricultural and industrial university. The various teachers associations sustained him, partly out of gratitude for his work in helping to establish the Normal University at Bloomington, in 1857. The fight was complicated by the growing insistence of Chicagoans that the mechanical branch of the proposed new institution should be located in their city. In 1866, the presidents of the private colleges staged a last ditch lobbying effort, in which J. C. Burroughs, of the Baptist University at Chicago, and Jonathan Blanchard, of Wheaton College, played key roles. Julian M. Sturtevant, president of Illinois College, stayed out of the squabble, possibly because Jacksonville citizens believed that Turner's great influence in the

movement would bring the new institution to their town anyway. The story is not a pretty one. In a letter to *The Prairie Farmer*, Turner blasted the church college presidents in language as intemperate as it was effective.⁷⁷ Both he and the college presidents were bitterly disappointed, however, when the immensely effective lobby which Clark Robinson Griggs carried on at the legislative session of 1866-1867 brought the Illinois Industrial University to Urbana, a community which had shown no previous interest in the cause of either farmers' or workingmen's education.⁷⁸

The willingness of the church colleges to assume the responsibility for agricultural and industrial education had reflected more than a grab for money, however. It also expressed their conviction, nurtured in years of practice, that the chief aim of Christian higher education is vocational preparation and that, furthermore, the callings of common men deserve as excellent training as any provided for the professions.

Thus it was that the founders of the pioneer church colleges wove their ideas and their fortunes into the culture of the Old Northwest. Although dedicated primarily to preserving and transmitting Christian civilization on a frontier which they believed to be threatened with barbarism, they represented not so much a conflict as a community of interest between churchmen born and reared in the Ohio Valley and the newly-arriving easterners. Purists about neither economic, political, or educational theory, Yankee, western, and southern preachers readily made adjustments to meet the needs of the society which they served. Their acceptance of vocationalism, their responsiveness to the economic interests of the townsmen who supported them, and their leadership in the various movements for a tax-supported school system marked them as essentially progressive. The Ohio Valley's early Christian educators were idealists; but they insisted on putting their ideals to work in remarkably practical ways.

The Sectarian Era, 1855-1885

What strikes one first in studying the educational history of Indiana and Illinois after 1855 is that a number of denominations too small to imagine themselves assuming a nonsectarian role of cultural leadership

were now strong enough to attempt to establish their own colleges. Inevitably, these schools seemed preoccupied with serving their sponsoring communions rather than the wider community. Among them were North Central College at Naperville, Illinois, the project of the Evangelical Association, a German-speaking Wesleyan group; Eureka College, near Peoria, chartered in 1855, and Union Christian College, on the Wabash at Merom, Indiana, founded four years later, both serving the Disciples of Christ; Lombard University, in Galesburg, first known as Illinois Liberal Institute, monument to a company of Universalists who managed to settle among the Presbyterian flock at Knox; Marshall College, an academy which the North Illinois Conference of the Methodist Protestant church reconstituted as North Illinois University in 1867; Salem College, fifty miles west of Fort Wayne, founded in 1870 by the German-speaking Dunkers, or Church of the Brethren; Westfield College, an institution of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ; and another grandly titled Lincoln University established in 1865 in Logan County, Illinois, by commissioners from five synods of Cumberland Presbyterians.⁷⁹

The history of Earlham, established as a Society of Friends academy near Richmond, Indiana, in 1847 and chartered as a college twelve years later, defies most easy generalizations. The spreading influence of John Joseph Gurney's revivalism among Quaker settlers from Virginia and Carolina sparked the movement to establish a school, and Baltimore money was crucial in the last stages of its founding. But the key educators at Earlham—Joseph Moore, Allen Joy, and Barnabas C. Hobbs—were native Indianans. The first two won recognition for service as agents of the Baltimore Friends in the rebuilding of Quaker schools in North Carolina just after the Civil War. Among Friends, revivalism generally ran counter to sectarianism; it broke down the tradition of cloistered schooling and brought not only students but many religious practices from other denominations into the college and its supporting monthly meetings.⁸⁰

The first Roman Catholic institutions for higher education in Illinois belong in the sectarian category also, though the University of Saint Mary of the Lake actually dates from the earlier epoch. William Quarter, first bishop of Chicago, raised funds in New York City and opened

St. Mary's in 1845. His successor gave up the task, however, and turned the school over to the Fathers of the Holy Cross, who were content to operate only an academy. During the Civil War, John McMullen, a parish priest, struggled heroically to revive it, but a debt of six thousand dollars proved unmanageable. Bishop James Duggan, afflicted with mental illness, soon gave the institution the death blow. Saint Viator College, founded in Bourbonnais, Illinois, in 1868, and Saint Ignatius College, the parent institution to modern Loyola of Chicago, were the most important of several others. Saint Ignatius grew steadily, due to the advancing economic status of the children of Irish and German immigrants. It escaped the Chicago fire of 1871 and thereafter served faithfully its own communion, but gave little attention to the larger interests of the city until the last decade of the century.⁸¹

One special factor in the sectarianization of religion generally, and consequently of the church college movement, was mass immigration from Europe. The stream of newcomers, both Catholic and Protestant, grew steadily, save for the decade of the Civil War, and became a torrent in the thirty years before World War I. Its effects upon Roman Catholic education were proportionately less, however, than upon the institutions founded by Protestant immigrant churches. The Lutheran Synod of Illinois at first assumed responsibility to provide spiritual care for newcomers of their faith from Germany and Scandinavia. As early as 1854, a synodical education society was supporting six Scandinavian ministerial students at Illinois State University, Springfield; furthermore, in the two state synods several ministers preached the gospel in four languages. The Swedes, under Lars Esbjörn, were at first friendly to the evangelical tendencies of the Synod of Illinois, but after 1855 they began to display a strong reaction in favor of traditional creeds and rituals. Meanwhile, the growth of nativist sentiment in Springfield heightened prejudices against all immigrants. In 1860 the Swedish students followed Esbjörn and T. N. Hasselquist in an exodus to Augustana College, which the newly-organized Augustana Synod had established at Paxton and later moved to Rock Island. Thereafter, the Springfield institution was overwhelmed with financial difficulties and slowly withered away.⁸²

Esbjörn and Hasselquist had disagreed for many years on the ques-

tions of Americanization and co-operation with Lutherans who neglected the Augsburg Creed, with Hasselquist taking the more accommodating side. In 1859, the Lutheran General Synod admitted a Maryland group which specifically rejected the Augsburg Confession; Hasselquist joined Esbjörn at Augustana, and soon emerged as the real leader in the Augustana Synod as well as in its college. Esbjörn returned to Sweden to solicit aid. The church in the homeland sent money but few ministers. Of 291 pastors in the synod in 1890, only 8 had been ordained in Sweden. The chief task, therefore, which Hasselquist and his successor, Gustav Andreen, performed at Augustana College was to provide a faithful, orthodox ministry for the Scandinavian congregations under their care.⁸³

The story of the colleges founded by the Swedish Mission Friends, a lay organization born of revivals in the homeland, likewise ties the New and Old Worlds together. Converts who came to America were dissatisfied with both the Evangelical Lutheran and the Augustana synods, and established numerous small congregations of their own. They united first in the Swedish American Ansgar Synod, inspired chiefly by Charles Anderson's plans for a college at Knoxville, Illinois. Thereafter, they organized the Mission Covenant Church and allowed their ministers to be trained in the Scandinavian department of the Congregationalist Chicago Theological Seminary until their own North Park College was born.⁸⁴

Another group of colleges represented the culmination of previous internal rivalries within denominations. What one writer called "the Blanchard War" at Galesburg catapulted Jonathan Blanchard to Wheaton, to be president of what previously had been a Wesleyan academy, Illinois Institute. Here Blanchard began to build in the northern part of the state a collegiate center for radical abolitionists, most of whom became Congregationalists. Meanwhile, the Presbyterian Synod of Southern Illinois endeavored to establish an institution at Carbondale which would stand against the antislavery Congregationalism finally winning out at Illinois College.⁸⁵ During the debates these events provoked, Congregationalist spokesmen took denominational pride in championing the historic "evangelical" position of nonsectarianism. The loose structure of their sect made this easier. Neither Wheaton nor

Illinois was organically bound to the denomination, and a new seminary in Chicago co-operated with several of the immigrant churches.⁸⁶

A broadside published at the height of the controversy, entitled *Rights of Congregationalists in Knox College*, helps clarify the prevailing concept of sectarianism. The author scoffed at the Galesburg Presbytery's denial of "any intention to make Knox College a sectarian institution." The phrase "sectarian," the broadside declared, "is not currently used" to mean "that the students are restricted to a particular denomination, nor that . . . direct efforts are made to proselyte them to a specific creed, nor that all the Trustees or Professors are characterized by a common faith." Rather, the statement continued,

a college is deemed sectarian, when, by means of a majority of its Board of Trust, it is controlled by, and for the interest of, a particular sect, who shape its affairs, fill the professorships chiefly with their own men, and secure its influence generally in favor of themselves. That an attempt is making, and is likely to succeed, to render Knox College, "sectarian" in this, the customary and technical sense, we deem almost too obvious for argument. . . .⁸⁷

Major forces in all the colleges encouraged precisely the kind of sectarianism this document opposed. First in importance was a harrowing series of financial crises. The panic of 1857 burst the "scholarship" bubble for the last time. Nearly every college in the West had suffered from one or more experiences with this ridiculous scheme, which provided subscribers with perpetual free tuition for one student in return for a gift or, at the donor's option, an annual payment of interest on a pledge of two or three hundred dollars. Then followed in turn the sharp decline in student enrollments during the Civil War, and the long depression of 1873-1877. The presidents came at last to realize that unless the sponsoring denominations greatly increased their support the colleges would die.

The demise of Illinois State University and the departure of the Scandinavians to Augustana confronted English-speaking Lutherans with a crisis they could not postpone, because of their desperate need for clergymen. They made a new start at Carthage in 1870. Although members of the denomination raised large amounts, they again launched an

overly ambitious scheme, based partly on the promises of the citizens of Carthage. A state of financial emergency continued until 1895, when President J. M. Ruthrauf and Henry Denhart, a wealthy layman, began a long campaign to persuade the four sponsoring synods to assume a much larger share of the costs. Slowly the Lutheran Church and the college forged the bonds of financial dependence which made them one.⁸⁸

A similar trial by fire converted Monmouth from a community college dependent upon scholarships and speculation into an institution of the United Presbyterian Church; and so the story went in other denominations as well. Although Chicago Baptists seemed helpless before the slow strangulation of their first "university," those in southern Illinois came stoutly to the support of Shurtleff, subscribing \$123,000 in the "Centenary" and "Jubilee" campaigns of 1876 and 1877. Indiana Asbury, Illinois Wesleyan, and Northwestern universities survived the crisis of the war years without special church aid. In 1866, however, the one hundredth anniversary of Methodism in America, the denomination raised a great Centennial Fund, a portion of which went to pay off the debts of its colleges. And Washington C. DePauw, a New Albany glass manufacturer fresh from heroic efforts to make a go of a Methodist women's college in his home town, gave Indiana Asbury a part of his fortune, and his name. Meanwhile, the sponsoring conferences steadily increased their support of all Methodist institutions.⁸⁹

The fates of several women's colleges likewise hung upon their success in securing official denominational sponsorship. True, the demand for women to teach school increased during and immediately after the war, giving both colleges and "female seminaries," as women's academies were called, a brief respite. Hundreds of girls enrolled for a year or so, planning to replace one of the thousands of male teachers who had gone to war, never to return to the classroom. When peace came, however, Almira College at Greenville desperately sought adoption by the Baptist General Association. Shurtleff blocked the way by turning coeducational, and Almira closed its doors. In Evanston, Northwestern Female College, founded in 1854 by William P. Jones, Jr., a Methodist minister's son, died of the twin plagues, fire and uncertain finances.

Evanston College for Ladies, Frances Willard's school, replaced it in 1869, but survived only by yielding to President Erastus O. Haven's decision that it should become the Woman's College of Northwestern University. The Methodist female seminary in Jacksonville was likewise justified at last by faith alone.⁹⁰

During these years revivalism also tended to strengthen denominational ties. The awakenings of 1857 and 1858 affected the church colleges deeply. The sobering effects of the news from the battlefronts followed. Student revivals and daily prayer meetings were for a few years an important part of the campus scene. The sponsoring communions fell heir to the enlarged resources of faith and personal consecration which the awakenings produced, and expressed their gratitude by increasing their gifts. The sight of seniors from Garrett Biblical Seminary serving as "flying artillery" in the ring meetings at Des Plaines campgrounds helped loosen Methodist purse strings and suggested to the thoughtful that the denomination's hope for future growth depended heavily on its colleges. No wonder James M. Sturtevant, president of Illinois College during these years, stretched a point somewhat to declare that the religious history of that institution had been written in revivals.⁹¹

These impulses toward sectarianism in the colleges after the Civil War coincided with the tendency growing in all of the larger communions to tighten denominational bonds. The tendency stemmed from insecurity over the impact of the new learning, from the increasing efficiency and urge to competition which characterized the national religious bureaucracies, and from a widespread movement toward national consolidation in all sorts of voluntary associations. Congregationalists developed through several organizations the techniques for controlling their colleges that the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education had initiated in 1843. The Methodist Episcopal Church established a national Board of Education in 1868, the Presbyterian Board of Aid for Colleges and Academies appeared in 1883, and the American Baptist Educational Society, in 1888. The constitution of the Presbyterian board stipulated that every college which it aided must be "organically connected with the Presbyterian Church,

or provide in its charter for two-thirds representation of the church on its board of trustees."⁹²

Various other currents of interaction between the colleges and their social environment also contributed to the sectarian trend. The spreading network of railroads broke down the dependence of the pioneer schools upon a local and, hence, an unsectarian clientele. Broad geographic distribution often reflected, in consequence, a narrowed ecclesiastical one.⁹³ Moreover, the new state institutions at Urbana, both Bloomingtons, Logansport, Terre Haute, and Carbondale were anxious to assume full responsibility for training public school teachers, as well as for educating farmers and mechanics. Many churchmen, as a result, believed the time had come when their colleges could lay aside at least some of the responsibility they had carried for the society's general educational needs and concentrate upon their special religious tasks. Meanwhile, the growing taste for urban refinements, in larger towns as well as in the city of Chicago, produced rivalry among the larger denominations for symbols of cultural status, one of the most important being a flourishing university. In almost the same year that Chicago Baptists united to organize a university in the city, Methodist and Presbyterian laymen announced plans to establish Northwestern and Lake Forest. Speaking in behalf of western Congregationalists in 1873, George F. Magoun asked, "Who cannot see what the honor of Puritan learning demands?" The denomination's colleges, he said, "should be so endowed that no rivals the state can place beside them can overmatch them in strength, and so thorough and complete in their work that none can approach them in merit of any kind."⁹⁴

An important result of these sectarian tendencies was the initial retreat of some of the church-sponsored colleges from the vocational and elective curriculums that they had emphasized in their earlier days. Newton Bateman, fresh from fourteen years' labor as state superintendent of public instruction, announced on his inauguration as president of Knox in 1875 that the faculty would thereafter require all students to take the classical course, the "long tried and carefully matured plan of the ages"; subjects falling "beyond or outside these well-qualified boundaries" would be electives. At Carthage College, the second

class of graduates received as many science as arts degrees, whereupon the faculty voted to place in the catalogue the statement "that students be earnestly advised to begin their studies with a view of completing the classical course."⁹⁵ At Earlham, however, revivalistic Quaker educators advertised a strong scientific curriculum, which included "practical instruction in Civil Engineering." Wabash College announced in 1870 a new "Military Department, including drawing and a part of civil engineering." And the Indiana College Association, which by 1887 included nine church-related and four state institutions, paid close attention to technical and scientific education. In 1870, B. C. Hobbs, president of the association, noted that during the preceding four decades colleges had been changing their curriculums almost yearly. "Since Geology, Botany, Chemistry, Mechanics, Civil Engineering, Mining, Architecture, Navigation, and many other sciences" had "demanded special attention" he observed, "something [namely Greek] must yield that their claims may be allowed."⁹⁶

A surprising conservatism in curriculum matters showed up at Illinois Industrial University, later the University of Illinois. The election of President John M. Gregory, former state superintendent of public instruction in Michigan, caused J. B. Turner to cry in anguish, "O Lord, how long, how long? An ex-superintendent of public instruction and a Baptist preacher! Could anything be worse?"⁹⁷ The university's historians, however, insist that Gregory made an excellent president. He wisely invited Newton Bateman, the state school superintendent, to speak at his inauguration. Bateman fired with both barrels, attributing to Turner the conviction that

one capital and fatal error has been the idea that we should send a boy to school to learn to WORK, and not simply to THINK; thus absurdly attempting to teach, by public endowment and munificence, the little arts of PERSONAL MANIPULATION, instead of the magnificent SCIENCE of UNIVERSAL SUCCESS. Nothing could be more fatal. When I have taught a boy merely to hold a plow, I have only taught him to be a two-legged jackass; twin brother of the team in front of him. But when I have taught him truly and scientifically all the mighty mysteries of seas, stars, oceans, lands and ages that are concerned in that act of plowing, I have made a man of him. . . .

Gregory and the clergymen around him decided upon a broad and liberal curriculum, which reinforced programs in agricultural and mechanical arts with extensive course offerings in literature, history, philosophy, and general science. This curriculum seems in fact to have accommodated Turner's views, though the protests of his partisans continued.⁹⁸

Indeed such aspects of the older tradition of midwestern Protestant higher education as a nonsectarian faculty and program, a vocationalism sanctified by the Christian doctrine of calling, and a broad acceptance of moral responsibility for society passed over into the tax-supported institutions in the two states. One reason for this was the predominance of clergymen among persons deemed competent to teach in colleges or universities, whatever their sponsorship. Another was the public identification of Protestant religion with all worthy causes. The founding of Southern Illinois Normal School, now Southern Illinois University, illustrates this carry-over. Shortly after the Civil War Clark S. Braden, president of the fledgling Southern Illinois College, which was sponsored by the Disciples of Christ at Carbondale, became deeply interested in training teachers to meet the acute shortage in that section. He summoned a convention of the friends of education which, in the summer of 1868, asked the legislature to open a state normal school in Carbondale. If the request was granted, Braden knew his denomination's school would have to close. Two months later, Robert M. Allyn, president of McKendree College and a fervent Methodist, sponsored a similar convention at Centralia, apparently unaware of Braden's meeting. This gathering adopted similar resolutions. The state legislature voted to establish the Southern Illinois Normal University at Carbondale the next year. No one thought it unusual when the Reverend Robert Allyn became the first president of the new institution and named three clergymen to the faculty of twelve. Allyn's competent leadership, as the historian of the school has said, gave to Southern Normal "a religious cast, by no means sectarian, which made it a genuine spiritual force in teacher training."⁹⁹

In neither church-related nor tax-supported institutions, however, did sectarian or other theological tendencies provoke serious conflict over

the new ideas emerging from the biological and physical sciences. Despite what Andrew D. White taught a generation of students to believe was the effect of the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* on American religion, extensive evidence demonstrates that not only in the urban universities but in the smaller institutions as well the Christian faith in science remained unshaken to the end of the century. Practically every church college developed a museum of natural history during these years, and many were blessed with able science professors. A Lutheran minister, Cyrus Thomas, taught natural science at the Southern Illinois Normal School while that institution was under Methodist Robert Allyn's direction. Thomas became chief of the Bureau of Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution in 1879.¹⁰⁰ Ebenezer Morrow, of Shurtleff, studied chemistry and physics at Harvard and Göttingen before returning to teach science at his alma mater. John Wesley Powell, whose western geological explorations began while he was a professor at Illinois Wesleyan, sponsored and became the first curator of the Museum of the Illinois Natural History Society. He then moved on to Washington, where he became director of the United States Geological Survey.¹⁰¹ The Methodist preacher-presidents of Northwestern insisted continually upon the development of a strong science program. Earnest Baptists actively supported the building of the museums at the University of Chicago, one of them, George Clark Walker, being a chief patron. In Illinois and Indiana, at least, most of the battles in the war between science and religion were fought in the twentieth century. Unfortunately many historians have accepted without serious question the fundamentalists' claim that during those battles they represented the sum of Christian orthodoxy.¹⁰²

The fairest academic flower of the sectarian era of college founding in Illinois was the new University of Chicago. An earlier institution with the same name expired in 1886, to the great chagrin of Baptists everywhere. The new foundation was made possible through John D. Rockefeller's generosity, the first item of which was a gift of \$600,000 to the American Baptist Education Society. Rockefeller insisted that his fellow Baptists must raise \$400,000 more before he would pay his pledge. Churches in Chicago soon subscribed more than half of this amount, but the campaign outside the city lagged behind. Clergyman

Frederick T. Gates, the century's most successful fund raiser, led the Education Society in heroic measures of prayer, publicity, and pressure. In May, 1890, he was able to announce at the anniversary meeting of Northern Baptists in Chicago that they had reached their goal. As had happened the year before when Mr. Rockefeller's contingent gift was announced, the great assembly cheered and united in singing the Doxology. Denominational need and pride had been central in the appeals to churches as well as to individual donors to support the new university. Augustus H. Strong, president of the Rochester Seminary, who wanted the institution located in Rochester, wrote Rockefeller on February 22, 1887:

What moves me is the simple consideration that we Baptists, with two millions and a half of members and ten millions of constituency, are so unspeakably behindhand in matters of education. . . . are letting other smaller bodies of Christians go so far ahead of us, are losing day by day so many of our best and brightest men because we have no proper facilities for their education.¹⁰³

In retrospect, this account of increasing sectarianism in the church colleges of Indiana and Illinois after the Civil War seems to shed new light upon the history of denominationalism in America. In the antebellum era, social, political, and religious factors at work in a pioneer society had pressed churchmen toward an affirmation of the aims which drew the various Protestant communions together and identified them with the public purpose. The states, like the nation, were young. The system of voluntary denominational order, grounded upon religious liberty, was still what Thomas Jefferson had called a "lively experiment." On the midwestern frontier, as in Pennsylvania over a century before, denominational structure gave to weak, mobile, and unrooted congregations the support and discipline they needed in order to help bring stability to neighborhood life.¹⁰⁴ The founders of the earliest colleges in the Ohio Valley shared the widespread conviction that the survival of republican institutions depended upon a moral consensus, grounded both in learning and religious faith. And they were convinced that such faith and learning would flourish best under conditions of religious freedom. Although rivalry for converts and for community

status between preachers and professors of different persuasions was built into the situation, the competition took place within the bounds of a commitment to widely-shared social and religious ideals. Under these circumstances, Protestantism and Americanism became almost synonymous. And some contemporaries used the term "sect" in a new way: in Europe, the word referred to a group that enjoyed no legal establishment; in America, it denoted a communion which the Protestant majority somewhat arrogantly assumed could not or would not participate fully in the national religious consensus—Roman Catholic, Mormon, Anti-Mission Baptist, or Missouri Synod Lutheran.

After the Civil War denominational organizations increasingly became ends in themselves, as well as means. And higher education, which once had exerted a uniformly liberalizing influence, often served as an instrument of sectarianism. The founders of the new group of colleges, like the new managers of the older institutions, sought to give their communions an image of cultural eminence; and they concentrated their energies upon educating young people of their own persuasions. A flourishing agricultural and commercial economy, the declining fear of both Catholicism and barbarism, the establishment of state institutions for higher education, and the growing ease of travel and communication all helped to make this more sectarian emphasis acceptable. And among the immigrant churches minority feelings, intensified by varying language, liturgy, and communal customs, steadily strengthened it. Migration to the New World helped to make churches into sects, just as did the conditions of denominational growth among communions long planted here. Ironically, the commitment to a common moral and religious ideal seems thereafter to have flourished more easily in state-supported than in church-related colleges. Leaders of the denominational schools sought to attract both students and contributions by arguing that their institutions alone could preserve the special teachings and peculiar discipline of their sponsoring sects.

College and City

Church colleges multiplied and adjusted to social needs on the urban frontier, just as they had adjusted in earlier wilderness and prairie-town

settings. The city in its own way produced that same sense of lostness and need which earlier had impelled the pious to build schools to save and civilize the community. Moreover, the urban environment spurred both sectarian rivalry and conflict within the various sects. Several major denominations developed institutions in the Chicago area which competed with colleges founded earlier by their clergymen in other parts of Indiana and Illinois: Presbyterian Lake Forest, with Wabash, Knox, and Illinois; Methodist Northwestern, with Indiana Asbury, Illinois Wesleyan, and McKendree; the Baptist University of Chicago, both the old and the new, with Shurtleff and Franklin; and Roman Catholic Loyola, with St. Viator and Notre Dame.¹⁰⁵

By 1924 more than 40 percent of all college students in the United States were being educated in cities of over one hundred thousand population. Remarkably few urban universities, however, were municipally supported or controlled—in 1932 only nine of them. Seven of the latter were in the Midwest but none in any city with a large and flourishing denominational college. A list of thirty-four institutions which held membership in the Association of Urban Universities in 1928 included seven founded by the Methodist denomination alone: Boston, Syracuse, Vanderbilt, Denver, Northwestern, Hamline, and Evansville. Thus the story of the American urban university is to a large degree bound up with that of denominational colleges which embraced the city and accepted a degree of secularization in order to serve the communities they had chosen.¹⁰⁶

The history of the University of Chicago after William R. Harper became its president in 1890 is the classic case. Harper had been reluctant to accept the presidency for three reasons: a desire to continue his life of scholarship; his conscientious doubts as to whether he was sufficiently orthodox to preside over the leading Baptist university in the land; and his ambition to have not one but at least two million dollars with which to begin. The decision to make the Baptist Theological Seminary an integral part of the university, with President Harper as professor and head of the department of Hebrew, solved the first problem. When Rockefeller solved the third one, the second seemed to matter less. From this point on, the University of Chicago was not a Baptist university, but a child of the city.

Rockefeller's gift of the second million proved to be the turning point. It enabled Harper to develop the university on a scale which not only satisfied his own ambitions but also attracted the support of wealthy citizens of Chicago who were not Baptists. To complete the task of making the institution a true university, and not merely a college, Harper needed still more money, of course—far more than Baptists could contribute. He turned at once, and with great success, to the community at large, basing his appeals upon the assurance that the university was to be largely nondenominational in character. Sidney A. Kent, a wealthy and worldly Chicagoan, offered more than \$200,000 to build a chemical laboratory. Marshall Field agreed to give an additional \$100,000 if other leading citizens would raise the total to \$1,000,000 in sixty days. By July 10, 1892, President Harper's third million was in hand. Within twenty-one months, in fact, and before the doors were opened for students, Harper had in his grasp four million dollars, an enlarged and improved site, provision for ten buildings, and a distinguished faculty of one hundred and twenty scholars pledged to set the highest academic standards in an academy, a college, two graduate schools, and a theological seminary. The president told the winter convocation of 1895 that the modern university must adapt "its methods and training to the practical problems of the age in which we live"; what the city had paid for, it must possess.¹⁰⁷

The import of this startling miracle in university building was not lost upon other church-sponsored institutions. At Evanston, it helped to revive a dream which Methodists had long cherished for Northwestern. As early as 1875 President Charles H. Fowler issued a catalogue showing eight so-called colleges under university jurisdiction, including a college of technology and others in theology, law, medicine, music, and the liberal arts. Henry Wade Rogers, a brisk young lawyer, became president at Northwestern in 1890 at age thirty-seven and set out to realize this vision. Rogers established his office in Chicago, ostensibly to integrate the schools of law, medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy, which were located there. In 1891, he moved the commencement exercises from the Evanston Methodist Church to the Chicago Auditorium. He also encouraged the rapid development of the social side of campus life at Evanston, including the replacement in 1895 of

the annual panhellenic banquet by an interfraternity dance, which to Methodists of that era represented a considerable compromise with worldliness. The results of his appeal to the city were gratifying: by 1893 only Harvard and the University of Michigan surpassed Northwestern in student enrollment.

The only dark cloud on the horizon was the financial one. Pointing out that only six men had contributed \$700,000 of the slender endowment of \$900,000, in 1900 Rogers launched a campaign for funds designed to make Northwestern the equal of the University of Chicago. Then, quite suddenly, he resigned. The Methodists had had either too much Rogers or too few millionaires—it is not clear which. The next president, Edmund Janes James, was steeped in Methodist religion, but he was at the same time a renowned expert in business education, having most recently served as director of the Wharton School of Finance and Economy at the University of Pennsylvania. Such a combination of talents was exactly suitable for the head of a Methodist university now yoked inseparably with the march of urbanism. But, unfortunately for Northwestern, the University of Illinois regents stole James away in 1904, believing that the combination suited their needs as well. From that time forward, Northwestern has depended more upon the generosity of wealthy Chicagoans willing to help make it another shrine to urban culture than upon the support of the Methodist church.¹⁰⁸

Most striking of the demands which the city made upon its colleges was that they adopt a broad tolerance in religious matters, allowing both faculty members and students complete freedom of opinion. In retrospect, this seems simply a reiteration and an extension to interfaith dimensions of the nonsectarian platform of the pioneer colleges, originally dictated by their dependence upon frontier townsmen. In urban institutions, maintaining church ties became the responsibility of chaplains, or of student denominational fellowships, which did their work on the fringes of the campus.¹⁰⁹ The only evangelical tradition which thrived at the center of academic life was that of Christian social service, embodied at the University of Chicago in Professor Graham Taylor. The reason was simple: it met the city's need.¹¹⁰ Other aspects of the old-time religion rapidly disappeared from the campuses of the larger

and wealthier urban institutions, and became in fact more characteristic of state-supported teachers colleges located in rural areas. With Northwestern's experience in mind, consider the great controversy over dancing at Eastern Illinois State Teachers College in the spring of 1909. An obscure itinerant evangelist denounced President J. C. Lord for having recently permitted student groups to conduct their dances in the college gymnasium. The furore which resulted involved both the trustees and several state legislators before President Lord was finally vindicated.¹¹¹

As time passed, however, prairie-town church colleges also began to trim their sails to the city's winds. They sought large gifts from wealthy alumni, erected modern gymnasiums and science buildings, instituted departments of business and commerce, gave careful attention to public relations, and chose for their presidents bright young clergymen who were convinced, as President Francis G. Barnes of Illinois Wesleyan put it, that "the college of the future must respect the demand of the age for a practical education."¹¹²

Other institutions reacted against the demands of the city, some of them toward religious and others toward academic conservatism. McKendree and DePauw maintained the patterns of old-time Methodist piety so rigidly as to limit their appeal to students from even the small towns surrounding them. Shurtleff's president began the century on a note of pessimism, describing the future role of the denominational college as "a centre for Christian activities" and "a place of resort for students of slender means and limited opportunities." Illinois, Carthage, and Knox met the challenge in another way, by increasing their emphasis upon the traditional liberal arts. Perhaps President Rammelkamp did not realize the historical irony of his complaint of 1919 against the "new" movement toward "the practical and materialistic" in American higher education. Illinois College, he said, must stand more firmly than ever for the cultural and spiritual values in civilization. Four years later, after describing to his trustees the recent expansion of his faculty's programs in business administration, journalism, and public speaking, Rammelkamp insisted that "the future of Illinois College is linked . . . with the maintenance of the cultural ideal." Such small-town schools soon united in the Liberal Arts College Movement, which sought after

1930 to cultivate the myth that they had always championed traditional curriculums. Soon, however, President Robert M. Hutchins of Chicago was to remove their exclusive hold upon even that treasured bit of academic folklore.¹¹³

A broader reaction against the secularizing influence of the city characterized the conservative religious movements which we can identify, but not accurately or agreeably describe, with the term fundamentalist, and inspired the final phase of Christian college founding in the Midwest, illustrated best by the history of Wheaton College. This school, which still reflects the negative side of Jonathan Blanchard's antislavery perfectionism in its life and work, managed to build a bridge above the stream of social change that reached flood stage after 1890, and so passed from the pioneer to the modern period relatively unaltered. Blanchard and his son, Charles Albert, served as presidents of the college for a total of sixty-five years. Through them there passed into the life of modern evangelicalism much that is a recognizable heritage from the pioneer period: the determination to do battle with a hostile religious environment; the cultivation of a nonsectarian fellowship; the insistence upon certain radical standards of Christian unworldliness; and the sense of high spiritual destiny. All these are characteristic of modern Wheaton.

On the other hand, the evangelical movement of the period between the two world wars differed at many important points from that of the age of Charles G. Finney. Its spiritual antagonist was the cultured and volatile city, rather than the barbarous, retreating wilderness. Its nonsectarianism sustained the position of minorities within the great denominations but disdained movements for interdenominational union. Moreover, the fact that many fundamentalists rejected the social service ideal of the city thinned out the humanitarian idealism of an earlier day. Hence, at Wheaton, the dream of a perfect society in America, which motivated the elder Blanchard through most of his life, was transmuted even in his son's day to the hope of the Second Coming. Perfectionism became Puritanism again, and on a narrower scale.¹¹⁴

Wheaton's image of itself has been that of a light in a dark place. And in this image the school has served a segment of the urban population often overlooked: the God-fearing and socially mobile families

who during the last decades have been pouring into the metropolis from the farms and villages of America. Whether they were Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Disciples, or Friends, these newcomers were apt to find the churches of the great cities strange to their taste and chilling to their hearts. Such persons formed the core around which evangelical congregations were built. They sent their sons and daughters to Wheaton, located at the edge of Chicago, in order that they might learn neither to fear nor to flee the city's power. The parents themselves often enrolled for night classes at Moody Bible Institute, or at one of the similar institutions which appeared in smaller cities like Fort Wayne and Mishawaka. Though frequently unwilling to label their own work collegiate, these Bible schools illustrate another of Christian education's many adjustments to the urban religious situation.¹¹⁵

North Park College, in turn, represents the contribution of immigrant sectarianism to the conservative Protestant cause. City-born and unscarred by frustrated dreams of a perfect society, the school has been content to search out and to shelter evangelical young Swedish-Americans. Leaders of the Mission Covenant Church co-operated in the early years with Congregationalist efforts at Chicago Theological School to train ministers for the Scandinavian free churches, but soon severed this affiliation and concentrated upon building their own college. The land speculation referred to earlier nearly destroyed the institution, but a student who left North Park in 1897 to go to Alaska as a missionary struck gold and gave the college \$54,000. Some Covenant leaders believed that he originally had staked his claim in the name of the church and were always discontented that the college received only a portion of the fortune, which they thought Providence had intended for it. The sum was enough, however, to pull the institution out of its first difficulties, and to enable it thereafter to serve a people who found the American frontier furnished with elevated railways and bargain basements instead of ox-carts.¹¹⁶

From the perspective of this summary, the Roman Catholic institutions in Chicago until recently reflected the same social and spiritual motivation as Augustana and North Park: the desire to shelter immigrant Christian communities from the city's corrupting influence. Some

have ministered to specific national groups, like St. Procopius, opened under Czech Benedictine leadership in 1871. All except Notre Dame maintained a stout educational and religious conservatism. But one key fact distinguishes them from the conservative Protestant institutions. The Roman Catholic Church has never been a stranger to the city, though most of its immigrant adherents in America were. The church was able, therefore, to give to its people, and to its colleges, an assurance, a hopeful faith in its future social role, which many Protestants did not share.¹¹⁷

Another group of colleges served the historic peace churches—Mennonite, Church of the Brethren, and Friends. Salem College, founded before 1870 by the Church of the Brethren, still often called Dunkard, reflected, as Earlham did, both the determination to preserve older religious ways and a growing attachment to the goal of educating young people for practical life in an urban world. In the twentieth century, the history of Goshen College, which leaders of the "Old" Mennonite Church established in 1892, best illustrates the contradictions which all such ventures faced. Beginning as the "Elkart Institute of Science, Industry and the Arts," the institution moved to Goshen in 1903, seeking to moderate some of the tensions already growing over efforts to modify traditional codes of dress and over the employment of non-Mennonites as lecturers. The first president, N. E. Byers, resigned in 1913, under suspicion as a "liberal" because he had attended Harvard University, had maintained an association with John R. Mott, leader of the World Student Christian Federation, and had founded the Intercollegiate Peace Conference. The infant fundamentalist movement, grounded in premillennial theology and biblical literalism, was then beginning to make some inroads among Mennonites, especially in Virginia, where those who called themselves conservatives organized a competing college to counter the "liberal" institution at Goshen. In 1921, the general conference of the church adopted the Virginia group's "Eighteen Fundamentals" and set out to purge Goshen of teachers whose offense was not so much disloyalty to Old Mennonite ways as resistance to the new evangelical ones. The college was closed for a time in 1923, and public controversy subsided. Most of the faculty stayed on, however, and built increasingly effective programs in the

liberal arts and teacher training. The immensely important research into Mennonite history which Dean Harold S. Bender directed and inspired and the important role which his *Mennonite Quarterly Review* played among historians of the Reformation helped to bring about a clearer understanding of the Mennonite heritage, freeing it from some of the fundamentalist accretions.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile, along the line where hills give way to prairies in the south, the Wesleyan wing of the conservative evangelical movement was responsible for no fewer than six colleges: Greenville and Olivet, in Illinois, and Frankfort, Anderson, Taylor, and Marion, in Indiana. The Wesleyan Methodist denomination, whose youngest college is Marion, and the Free Methodist, which established Greenville in 1892, bridged the years between the pre-Civil War era and our own times, as did Wheaton College. Standing fiercely like the Blanchards against secret societies and sin, Greenville clung more successfully than Wheaton to the perfectionist and humanitarian ideals of Free Methodism's anti-slavery founders, as is obvious to any who have read Professor Mary A. Tenney's *Blueprint for a Christian World*. The Wesleyan emphasis upon personal Christian experience also provided the intellectual and emotional background for President Leslie R. Marston's pioneer program in what some now would call general education. Marston, a specialist in child psychology who later became a Free Methodist bishop, announced this plan in 1928, anticipating by two decades the movement to merge the aims of liberal culture and personal adjustment.¹¹⁹ Taylor University, located in the farming village of Upland, Indiana, traces its lineage back to Fort Wayne Female College, which opened in 1846 and merged with another school six years later to become Fort Wayne College. Renamed in honor of William Taylor, the colorful bishop who founded Methodist missions on three continents, the institution moved to Upland in 1890 and committed itself to missions and to promoting the doctrine and experience of Christian holiness. From that point onward, it became the educational center for those Methodists in the Midwest who wanted to perpetuate traditional Wesleyanism, and for the independent camp-meeting and evangelistic associations which shared that purpose.¹²⁰

The other colleges spawned by the radical Wesleyans were founded in the twentieth century, and reflect a more explicit concern with the

challenge of urban secularism. A company of city missionaries for the Church of God Reformation Movement transferred their communal evangelistic and publishing enterprise from Chicago to Anderson, Indiana, in 1917, and rapidly made the campus and camp-meeting ground there the national center of this antisectarian communion. Forswearing all ecclesiastical structure and governing themselves through a national meeting in which all pastors and lay persons present might vote, the people of the Church of God supported roughhewn John A. Morrison, the president, in building Anderson College and Seminary from what had begun as a Bible training school. As members of black congregations founded in the South in the 1890s began migrating to Detroit, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., their more ambitious young people enrolled at Anderson to train for a better future, making this corn-belt institution one of the few perennially integrated colleges in the nation. Isolated by their special doctrine of the church from the other Wesleyan sects, numerous ministerial candidates proceeded to Oberlin Theological Seminary before the recent reconstitution of the seminary at Anderson on a graduate level.¹²¹

Meanwhile, at the village of Olivet, Illinois, where my father taught, there were haunting echoes from nearly every epoch of the past. A voluntary society of laymen, the Eastern Illinois Holiness Association, had organized the college on a nonsectarian basis in 1909, and named it grandly "Illinois Holiness University." I still remember from my childhood the bitterness which lingered from the failure of the speculation in village lots to repay the original investors. The faithful gathered there in stubborn protest against the city's assault upon the Old Wesleyan Way. They hoped to build an army of conquerors in a community of retreat. Only by accepting in 1912 the sponsorship of the Church of the Nazarene, a new Wesleyan sect which was geared primarily for growth in the cities, could the college survive. When, in 1939, a fire destroyed the main building, Olivet Nazarene College moved to Kankakee, to the campus of old St. Viator, near enough to Chicago to share the cultural atmosphere of urban America, whence most of its students came.¹²²

Lingering a moment over this story of colleges founded in the twentieth century by these diverse evangelical Protestant movements is worthwhile not only to reveal their kaleidoscopic diversity, but to

make a larger point about Christian higher education in urban America. During the past three decades, when the presidents of the older private colleges have been stridently warning the nation of the possible extinction of institutions which they allege guard freedom in ways which state-supported institutions cannot, the colleges of the Bible-believing Protestants have been unpredictably flourishing. Not endowments but steady and sacrificial giving by armies of tithing laymen has financed buildings, underwritten the expansion of faculties, and kept operating budgets safely in the black. Moreover, the religious revival of evangelicalism, in all of its diverse forms, has produced a generation of able young scholars in natural sciences, history, and literature, as well as in education, social work, and administration, whose willingness to teach in such institutions at depressed salary scales demonstrated their belief in both the intellectual and moral relevance of biblical faith to modern society. The steady march of their schools toward academic accreditation, through membership in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, reflected both the abilities and the commitment in the faculties. And it also reflected the drive of evangelical congregations all over midwestern America to secure a full opportunity for their young people to go on to graduate professional schools or pursue careers in social work and teaching. Thus did the pure love of learning and the Christian idea of vocation, which honored learning as a requirement for satisfying work, combine afresh in these institutions, as they had in the pioneer colleges.

The significance of this movement in higher education remains obscured unless one considers whole groups of colleges which "conservative" denominations now so successfully maintain. A moment's reflection that such institutions are also numerous in the neighboring states of Ohio and Michigan underlines the conclusion that a significant regeneration of a pioneer tradition is underway and that it rests on a base of popular aspiration and commitment which is apt to sustain it for a long time to come. Seen in this light, the remarkable fact that Trinity College and Trinity Theological Seminary, founded in Deerfield, Illinois, as late as 1960 by leaders of the tiny Evangelical Free Church, fruit of the marriage of two minor Scandinavian communions, enrolled in 1975, 875 students in the four-year undergraduate program,

and a sensational 581 in the graduate theological school, is not a singular event but the mark of a widespread response to the city's challenge.

The connection between religion and urban culture which the church-related colleges helped to cement in twentieth-century Illinois and Indiana has been tenuous when compared closely with the interdependence of the pioneer colleges and the communities surrounding them. Urban society responds to economic impulses, chiefly. For this reason it has become the fashion to believe that in modern cities religious faith, like education, has receded to the sidelines and that the real game is a secular one. But the cultural connection persisted, whether in institutional or immigrant churches, settlement houses or Bible conferences. The importance of the Christian colleges in church and society here as elsewhere stems from the fact that they exemplified Christianity's insistence, borrowed from Judaism, that faith must inform both idea and structure, and commitment must involve both spirit and body. Religion in modern urban societies is not, therefore, any more than it was in rural ones, simply a shared mystic sentiment, but rather a richly varied complex of ideas, institutions, customs, and associations. Its connection with the formation of mores as well as economic goals, its role in the creation and resolution of racial as well as educational problems, and its contributions to neighborly as well as to denominational or ethnic forms of communal identity remain a central aspect of urban life.¹²³ In every large American city, a handful of church colleges and universities both evidence and perpetuate these relationships.

NOTES

¹ Henry Clyde Hubbart, *The Older Middle West, 1840-1880. Its Social, Economic, and Political Life . . .* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), pp. 30-52; R. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest. Pioneer Period, 1815-1840* (2 volumes. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1950), I, 39-50, II, 363-65, 397-403.

² Avery Craven, "The Advance of Civilization Into the Middle West in the Period of Settlement," in Dixon Ryan Fox (ed.), *Sources of Culture in the Middle West: Backgrounds versus Frontier* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934), pp. 44-46, 49-50.

³ Lois W. Banner examines the literature published since 1954, with special attention to Clifford S. Griffin. Lois W. Banner, "Religious Benevolence as Social Con-

trol: A Critique of an Interpretation," in *Journal of American History*, LX (1973), 23-41; Clifford S. Griffin, *Thy Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960).

⁴ Richard C. Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Knopf, 1963), pp. 81-106; L. C. Rudolph, *Hoosier Zion: The Presbyterians in Early Indiana* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1963), especially pp. 50-59, 118-29. Compare David Brion Davis, *Ante-Bellum Reform* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967); and James Axtell's persuasive critique of Richard C. Hofstadter, Richard C. Hofstadter, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 222-38; James Axtell, "The Death of the Liberal Arts College," in *History of Education Quarterly*, XI (1971), 339-42.

⁵ William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840. Volume II: The Presbyterians: A Collection of Source Materials* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1936), pp. 56-59, 72-75, 102-107. L. C. Rudolph cites but does not yield to evidence which is contrary to the general argument of his book. Rudolph, *Hoosier Zion*, pp. 40-41, 63, 73-75, 182-83. Richard Power acknowledges he did not deal with influences emanating from the middle Atlantic states, and that Yankee settlers in Indiana were very few indeed. Richard Power, *Planting Corn-Belt Culture: The Impress of the Upland Southerner and Yankee in the Old Northwest* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1957), pp. vii-ix, 15, 26-28, 36, 72-73, 82-85. See also Lois Kimball Mathews, *The Expansion of New England: the spread of New England settlement and institutions to the Mississippi River, 1620-1865* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909); Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

⁶ William A. Millis reprints John Finley Crowe's "Succinct History of Hanover College" from the first catalogue (1833) and summarizes Crowe's earlier career. William A. Millis, *The History of Hanover College from 1827 to 1927* (Hanover, Ind.: Hanover College, 1927), pp. 11-18, 18-19. See James A. Woodburn for Judge David D. Bantos's story of Andrew Wylie, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian minister and a native of western Pennsylvania, who served as the first president of Indiana University from 1829 to 1851 and was at the time of his election president of Washington College, in western Pennsylvania. James A. Woodburn, *History of Indiana University. Volume I: 1820-1902* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1940), pp. 42-54. Compare Rudolph, *Hoosier Zion*, pp. 74-75, 182.

⁷ Austin Kennedy DeBlois and L. C. Barnes, *John Mason Peck and One Hundred Years of Home Missions, 1817-1917* (New York: American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1917), pp. 12, 17, 27, 42, 43, 48. Samuel Baker uses both his reminiscences and the early records of the Illinois Baptist Association. Samuel Baker, "Historical Address," in *Jubilee Memorial of Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, Illinois . . .* (Alton, Ill., 1877), pp. 74-75.

⁸ For a dispassionate summary see John F. Cady, *The Origin and Development of the Missionary Baptist Church in Indiana* (Franklin, Ind.: Franklin College, 1942),

pp. 38-55. Compare F. A. Cox and J. Hoby, *The Baptists in America: A Narrative of the Deputation from the Baptist Union in England, to the United States and Canada* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1836), pp. 285-90.

⁹ Cady, *Origin and Development of the Missionary Baptist Church*, pp. 49-50. Compare Charles C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).

¹⁰ Rufus M. Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck; . . . from His Journals and Correspondence* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, [1864]), p. 221.

¹¹ Peck's article in *Christian Watchman*, July 7, 1826, in Carl B. Wilson, *The Baptist Manual Labor School Movement in the United States. Its Origin, Development and Significance* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Bulletin, XL, 1937), pp. 130-31.

¹² DeBlois and Barnes, *John Mason Peck*, pp. 83-84. *Baptist Home Missions in North America, 1832-1882* also shows Going's role in founding the Ohio Baptist Education Society and Granville College, on the same trip west. American Baptist Home Missionary Society, *Baptist Home Missions in North America, 1832-1882* (New York: Baptist Home Mission Rooms, 1883), pp. 316-17.

¹³ DeBlois and Barnes, *John Mason Peck*, pp. 66, 84-85; Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 233; Austin K. DeBlois, *The Pioneer School. A History of Shurtleff College, the Oldest Educational Institution in the West* (New York: F. H. Revell Company, 1900), pp. 49, 63.

¹⁴ DeBlois and Barnes, *John Mason Peck*, pp. 68-69, 83-86, 92, 233; Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 266-67. Compare Wilson, *Baptist Manual Labor School Movement*, pp. 133-36; and DeBlois, *Pioneer School*, pp. 68, 82, 92.

¹⁵ I. George Blake, "Jesse Lynch Holman, Pioneer Hoosier," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIX (1943), 25-43; "Historical Review of Education in Indiana," in *Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thirty-Fourth Report* (1886), II, 9; and John Mason Peck, "Sketch of the Late . . . Jesse L. Holman . . .," in *Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle*, I (1842), 233-38.

¹⁶ Blake, "Jesse Lynch Holman," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIX, 44-46; *Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Eighteenth Report* (1870), pp. 112-13; William T. Scott, *Indiana Baptist History, 1798-1908* (n.p., 1908), pp. 346-50.

John F. Cady in *Missionary Baptist Church* obscures what is clear by comparison with his earlier *Centennial History of Franklin College*: most of the men listed as missionaries of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society were not Yankees by training, but grew up and were educated in the Ohio Valley or the deep South; and Holman, Deacon John McCoy, and the contingent from the West and South were overwhelmingly predominant in the founding of the college as well as in the Baptist missionary and educational movement in Indiana. Cady, *Missionary Baptist Church*, p. 98; John F. Cady, *Centennial History of Franklin College* (Franklin, Ind., 1934), pp. 18-25.

¹⁷ Blake, "Jesse Lynch Holman," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIX, 43, 48-49.

¹⁸ Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Eighteenth Report* (1870), p. 113; Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 292-93.

¹⁹ DeBlois, *Pioneer School*, pp. 87ff., 103, 126-32; Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent (1867-1868)*, pp. 222-23.

²⁰ J. M. Sturtevant, *Quarter-Century Celebration at Illinois College . . .* (New York: J. F. Trow, 1855), pp. 8-13; C. H. Rammelkamp, *Illinois College: A Centennial History, 1829-1929* (New Haven: published for Illinois College by Yale University Press, 1928), pp. 2-3, 10-11, 14-15, 17-20, 22.

²¹ James Insley Osborne and Theodore G. Gronert, *Wabash College, the First Hundred Years, 1832-1932 . . .* (Crawfordsville, Ind.: R. E. Banta, 1932), pp. 14-17. For the formation in 1831 of "The Band of Western Men" see *ibid.*, p. 21. For the career of James A. Carnahan see Rudolf, *Hoosier Zion*, pp. 79-80.

²² Osborne and Gronert, *Wabash College*, p. 25. L. C. Rudolph presents much evidence that counters his general description of the two parties. Rudolph, *Hoosier Zion*, pp. 41-42, 63, 73-76, 119-20, 121-25. Compare George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience; a Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), pp. 53-75.

²³ Osborne and Gronert, *Wabash College*, pp. 21, 39; Edwin F. Hatfield, *Patient Continuance in Well-Doing: A Memoir of Elihu W. Baldwin, D. D., First Pastor of Seventh Presbyterian Church, New York, and First President of Wabash College* (New York: J. Leavitt, 1843), pp. 168, 240-59, 275-77, 293-94.

²⁴ Osborne and Gronert, *Wabash College*, p. 26.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 29.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27, 39.

²⁷ Rammelkamp, *Illinois College*, pp. 21-22, 28-31, 36, 44-45, 125; J. M. Sturtevant, Jr. (ed.), *Julian M. Sturtevant: An Autobiography* (New York: F. H. Revell Company, 1895), pp. 176-77, 187-88, 196-99, 272-73; and Marsden, *Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience*, pp. 59-87.

²⁸ Osborne and Gronert, *Wabash College*, pp. 48-49.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-57.

³⁰ Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*, pp. 214-15; and *A Plan for a College, Intended to Advance Religion in America*, in C. M. Stuart, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the Middle West in 1850 and its Relation to Education," in Arthur H. Wilde (ed.), *Northwestern University, A History, 1855-1955* (4 volumes. New York: The University Publishing Society, 1905), I, 89.

³¹ W. C. Walton, *Centennial History of McKendree College* (Lebanon, Ill.: McKendree College, 1928), pp. 103-105, 108-10, 115, 116, 131-33, 137; Edmund Flagg, *The Far West* (New York, 1838), in Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (32 volumes. Cleveland: A. H. Clark Co., 1906), XXVI, 252-53; William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840*. Volume IV: *The Methodists: A Collection of Source Materials* (Chicago: University of Chicago

Press, 1946), pp. 329-33, 348; and Harry E. Platt, "Peter Cartwright and the Cause of Education," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXVIII (1935-1936), 271-78.

³² Platt, "Peter Cartwright and the Cause of Education," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXVIII, 273-74; Theodore L. Agnew, Jr., "Peter Cartwright and His Times: The First Fifty Years, 1785-1835" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1953), pp. 259-67, 272-84, 381-86, 470-71; Elmo S. Watson, *The Illinois Wesleyan Story, 1850-1950* (Bloomington, Ill.: Wesleyan University Press, 1950), pp. 7, 14-15; Joseph R. Harker, "Progress in the Illinois Conference, 1824-1924," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XVIII (1925), 162-63; Mary Watters, *The First Hundred Years of MacMurray College* (Springfield, Ill.: Williamson Print. & Pub. Co., 1947), pp. 26-40.

³³ Hermann R. Muelder, *Fighters for Freedom. A History of Anti-Slavery Activities of Men and Women Associated with Knox College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), chapters 4, 6, 13, 14, 17, 19; Hermann R. Muelder, *Church History in a Puritan Colony of the Middle West* (Galesburg, Ill.: Central Congregational church and First Presbyterian church, 1937), pp. 43-51, 64-65; and a popular treatment, Earnest E. Calkins, *They Broke the Prairie, Being Some Account of the Settlement of the Upper Mississippi Valley by Religious and Educational Pioneers . . .* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), pp. 42-46, 64-65, 77-85, 140, 170, 172-79.

³⁴ Rammelkamp, *Illinois College*, pp. 121, 196-99; Clyde S. Kilby, *Minority of One: The Biography of Jonathan Blanchard* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1959), pp. 104-37.

³⁵ Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Illinois, *Minutes . . . First Session . . .* (1846), p. 4; Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Illinois, *Minutes . . . Fourth Convention* (1849), pp. 8, 10; Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Illinois, *Minutes . . . Sixth Annual Convention* (1851), p. 7. Compare Avery Craven in Fox, *Sources of Culture*, pp. 57-58.

³⁶ William C. Spielman, *The Diamond Jubilee History of Carthage College, 1870-1945* (Carthage, Ill., 1945), pp. 9-15; Henry Evjen, "Illinois State University, 1852-1868," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXI (1938), 54-71; "Constitution of Illinois State University, Embracing the Amended Charter of 1853," pp. 2, 3, Carthage College Library, Carthage, Illinois; Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Illinois, *Minutes of the Fifth Convention . . .* (1850), p. 9; and Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Illinois, *Proceedings . . . Eighth Annual Convention . . .* (1853), p. 10.

³⁷ Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1866), p. 62, and *Eighteenth Annual Report* (1870), pp. 128-30; Allen R. Benton, "Early Educational Conditions and Founding of a Denominational College," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, IV (1908), 13-17.

³⁸ Thomas J. Schlereth, *The University of Notre Dame: A Portrait of Its History and Campus* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), pp. 4-15, 26.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-28, 135-36; Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1866), p. 61.

⁴⁰ Everts B. Greene, "The Puritan Counter-Reformation," in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s. XLII (1932), 39ff.; Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers*. Ray Allen Billington has overlooked the fact that western churchmen employed anti-Catholic rhetoric chiefly in addressing easterners from whom they were trying to raise funds. Ray Allen Billington, "Anti-Catholic Propaganda and the Home Missionary Movement, 1800-1860," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (1935-1936), 366-72, 377-80.

⁴¹ American Baptist Home Mission Society, *Baptist Home Missions*, pp. 317-18. Compare Cox and Hoby, *Baptists in America*, pp. 300-302; Stott, *Indiana Baptist History*, pp. 348-50; and General Convention of Western Baptists, *Proceedings of the First Anniversary . . . Cincinnati . . . November, 1834* (Cincinnati, 1835), pp. 2, 4, 22, 28.

⁴² *An appeal on Behalf of Illinois College, Recently Founded at Jacksonville, Illinois* (New York, 1831), pp. 7, 9, 13.

⁴³ "Memorandum Book" lists contributions to the \$4,280.70 raised by George E. Pierce in New England congregations between September, 1843, and May, 1844, for Western Reserve. Except for six gifts of \$100, those from individuals ranged from \$2 to \$25. "Parish collections" ran from \$23.75 at Foxboro, Massachusetts, to a high of \$105 at North Hartford, Connecticut. The "Ladies Benevolent Society" at Andover gave \$50; and the students at the "female seminary" at Bradford, Massachusetts, raised \$15. "Memorandum Book," pp. 101-109, Papers of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

⁴⁴ Rammelkamp, *Illinois College*, pp. 85-90, 187-88; Sturtevant, *Autobiography*, pp. 248-49; "Collegiate and Theological Education in the West," in *Congregational Quarterly*, XI (1869), 544, 551-52, 556; and Joseph F. Tuttle, *An Address in Behalf of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West . . .* (New York: J. F. Trow, 1854), pp. 8-12.

⁴⁵ "Memorandum Book, 1843-1845," p. 169, Papers of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West; compare, *ibid.*, pp. 159-61. As late as 1871, for example, an Illinois pastor urged western Baptists to follow the same restrictive policy. *Proceedings of the Western Baptist Educational Convention. Held in the First Baptist Church, Chicago, May 24 and 25, 1871* (Chicago: American Indian Mission Association, 1871), pp. 44-45.

⁴⁶ *Description of Jacksonville and of the Plot of Lands Hereto Annexed, and Now Offered for Sale in Behalf of Illinois College* (Boston, 1836); Millis, *History of Hanover College*, pp. 13-14; Lorene Martin, "Old Jubilee College and its Founder, Bishop Chase," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1934, pp. 127, 130; Thomas Rinaker, "Gideon Blackburn, the Founder of Blackburn University, Carlinville, Illinois," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XVII (1924-1925), 404-407; Francis Garvin Davenport, *Monmouth College: The First Hundred Years, 1853-1953* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1953), pp. 19-20; Mary A. Tenney, *Still Abides the Memory* (Greenville, Ill., 1942), pp. 12-13; Mary Markley, "Some Chapters on the History of Higher Education for Lutheran Women," in Lu-

theran Quarterly, LIII (1923), 1-54; Stott, *Indiana Baptist History*, pp. 349-50; Estelle F. Ward, *The Story of Northwestern University* (New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1924), p. 26; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 152-61.

⁴⁷ Oscar Fritiof Ander, *T. N. Hasselquist: The Career and Influence of a Swedish-American Clergyman, Journalist and Educator* (Augustana Library Publications, No. 14, Rock Island, Ill., 1931), pp. 55-56; Leland H. Carlson, *A History of North Park College* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 10-11, 52-55, 78-81.

⁴⁸ Thomas W. Goodspeed, *The University of Chicago Biographical Sketches* (2 volumes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), I, 19-20.

⁴⁹ Watson, *Illinois Wesleyan Story*, pp. 5-12; Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*.

⁵⁰ Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States, With Special References to the Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, Ill.: McKnight & McKnight, 1935), pp. 21-22, 25, 31-32, 36.

⁵¹ George W. Gale, *A Brief History of Knox College, . . . with Sketches of the First Settlement of the Town . . .* (Cincinnati: C. Clark, 1845), pp. 8-9; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: H. Holt & Company, 1921), p. 261. Compare Calkins, *They Broke the Prairie*, pp. 102, 106; and Hubbart, *Older Middle West*, pp. 42-43.

⁵² Muelder, *Church History in a Puritan Colony of the Middle West*, pp. 27-28, 32-34.

⁵³ Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Illinois, *Minutes . . . Second Session . . .* (1847), p. 6; Wilde, *Northwestern University*, I, 100. George Claude Baker shows how pervasive such sentiments were in New England during the preceding two decades and how deeply they were rooted in popular democratic ideals. George Claude Baker, *An Introduction to the History of Early New England Methodism, 1789-1839* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1941), pp. 69-82.

⁵⁴ A. A. Kendrick, *Shurtleff College, Inaugural Address, June 13, 1872* (Alton, Ill., 1872), pp. 3-5. Compare the appeal that Christian higher education continue to help "consecrate" the national culture in *Proceedings . . . Western Baptist Educational Convention . . . 1871*, pp. 43, 76-77.

⁵⁵ Quoted in "Historical Review of Education in Indiana," in *Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thirty-Fourth Report* (1886), II, 6-9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; Rammelkamp, *Illinois College*, pp. 64-65. Compare Hubbart, *Older Middle West*, pp. 66-67.

⁵⁷ Osborne and Gronert, *Wabash College*, p. 29. Compare Charles E. Peterson, "Theron Baldwin and Higher Education in the Old Northwest" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1960), pp. 56-89; Timothy L. Smith, "Protestant Schooling and American Nationality, 1800-1850," in *Journal of American History*, LIII (1967), 689-94.

⁵⁸ Jonathan Going: Middletown, Connecticut, June 15, 1832, to H. Maclay; Boston, August 31, 1832, to William Tory; New York City, November 23, 1832, to E. Going; and New York City, April 18, 1833, to Betsy Smith, typescript copies, American

Baptist Home Missionary Society Library, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, New York. Compare Bela Jacobs, *A Voice from the West . . . Report of His Tour in the Western States . . . Presented to the Executive Committee of the Western Baptist Educational Association* (Boston: J. Howe, 1833), p. 3; and DeBlois and Barnes, John M. Peck, pp. 28-29, 78-79.

⁵⁰ Osborne and Gronert, *Wabash College*, p. 84. See also Margaret K. Moore, "The Ladies Association for Educating Females," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXI (1938), 180, 184; Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*, pp. 83, 277-78; Harper, *Development of the Teachers College*, p. 3; Burt E. Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois. Volume I: The Movement for Industrial Education and the Establishment of the University 1840-1870* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1918), pp. 73-75. Compare Avery Craven in Fox, *Sources of Culture*, pp. 56-57.

⁵¹ Rudolph, *Hoosier Zion*, pp. 63, 69, 73-74, 121, 174-75. See also Allan Nevins, *Illinois* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), pp. 12-14; Joseph E. Roy, "History of Congregationalism in Illinois," in *Illinois Society of Church History, Congregational, Historical Statement and Papers* (Chicago, 1895), pp. 39-40, 45, 60-61; and Harker, "Progress in the Illinois Conference, 1824-1924," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XVIII, 163-64.

⁵² Kilby, *Minority of One: The Biography of Jonathan Blanchard*, p. 138.

⁵³ Horace Mann, Boston, November 15, 1845, to H. B. Gooch, in Edgar W. Knight (ed.), *A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860* (5 volumes. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), V, 317-18.

⁵⁴ Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Fourth Annual Report* (1856), pp. 23-25.

⁵⁵ Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*, pp. 66-67; Watson, *Illinois Wesleyan Story*, p. 107.

⁵⁶ Knox College, *Inauguration of Newton Bateman as President of Knox College* (Galesburg, Ill.: Galesburg printing and publishing company, 1875), p. 12. Compare Sturtevant, *Quarter Century Celebration of Illinois College*, p. 29; Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*, pp. 219-20; and Greene, "Puritan Counter-Reformation," in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s. 42, pp. 41-42.

⁵⁷ J. M. Sturtevant's inaugural address of 1845, in Rammelkamp, *Illinois College*, pp. 139-40; Sturtevant, *Quarter Century Celebration of Illinois College*, pp. 26-29; J. B. Turner, Jacksonville, Ill., September [1848,] to Jonathan Blanchard, in Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, I, 357-62.

⁵⁸ Wilbur Fisk, *The Science of Education: an inaugural address delivered at the opening of the Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Connecticut, September 21, 1831* (New York: M'Elrath & Bangs, 1832), pp. 10, 22.

⁵⁹ "Memorandum Book, 1843-46," pp. 126, 133-34, *Papers of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West*.

⁶⁰ "Memorandum Book" records parallel emphases at Marietta College, where one

of three resident professors taught chemistry, geology, and mining. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 26.

⁷⁰ Jonathan B. Turner, Jacksonville, Ill., September, [1848], to Jonathan Blanchard, in Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, I, 357-62.

⁷¹ For examples not already noted see Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Annual Report*, pp. 239-40; Chester J. Attig, *Historical Sketches of North Central College* (Naperville, Ill., *College Bulletin*, XXVI, 1936), pp. 7-8; Wheaton College, *Catalogue* (1860-1861), p. 13; and "Charter of Wheaton College, February 28, 1861," Wheaton College Library, Wheaton, Ill.

⁷² Harker, "Progress in the Illinois Conference, 1824-1924," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XVIII, 161-63; Harriet Rice Congdon, "The Early History of Monticello Seminary," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1924), pp. 58-63; Ward, *Story of Northwestern University*, pp. 20-21; and Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*, pp. 275-78.

⁷³ *Proceedings . . . Western Baptist Educational Convention* (1871), p. 23.

⁷⁴ Jonathan B. Turner, "Plan for an Industrial University for the State of Illinois," in Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, I, 382-400. Compare Jonathan B. Turner, Jacksonville, Ill., September, [1848] to Jonathan Blanchard, *ibid.*, pp. 357-62. See also Dean M. Inman, "Professor Jonathan Baldwin Turner and the Granville Convention," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XVII (1924), 147-48; Nevins, *Illinois*, pp. 12-15; and Fred H. Turner, "Misconceptions Concerning the Early History of the University of Illinois," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1932), pp. 63-90.

⁷⁵ Jonathan B. Turner, *Industrial Universities for the People* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1853), reproduced in Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, I, 365-77.

⁷⁶ Nevins, *Illinois*, pp. 29-30; Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, I, 179-84.

⁷⁷ Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, I, 185-87, 216, 222-36; Nevins, *Illinois*, pp. 32-41.

⁷⁸ Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, I, 242-43.

⁷⁹ Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*, pp. 231-32, 248, 250-51, 255-56, 260; and Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Eighteenth Report* (1870), pp. 90-125. Compare Calkins, *They Broke the Prairie*, pp. 260-61; Philip Schaff (ed.), *The American Church History Series. Volume V: A History of the Disciples of Christ, The Society of Friends, The United Brethren in Christ, and the Evangelical Association*, by B. B. Tyler et al. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), pp. 147-48; Raymond W. Albright, *A History of the Evangelical Church* (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Evangelical Press, 1945), pp. 291, 406; and Attig, *Historical Sketches of North Central College*, pp. 4-6.

⁸⁰ Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (2 volumes. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1921), II, 696-98.

⁸¹ Daniel J. Riordan, "The University of Saint Mary of the Lake," in *Illinois*

Catholic Historical Review, II (1919), 135-45, 149-53; and Helen M. Larkin, "Catholic Education in Illinois," in *ibid.*, IV (1922), 343-45.

⁸² Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Illinois, *Proceedings . . . Ninth Annual Convention* (1854), p. 14; Henry Evjen, "Scandinavian Students at Illinois State University," in *Norwegian American Studies and Records*, XI (1940), 20-21, 23, 25, 27-29.

⁸³ Ander, T. N. Hasselquist, pp. 41-52; George M. Stephenson, *Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration: A Study of Immigrant Churches* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932), pp. 147-49, 223-26; Oscar N. Olson (ed.), *A Century of Life and Growth: Augustana, 1848-1948* (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1948), pp. 81-83; *Andreen of Augustana, 1864-1940; Tributes to Gustav A. Andreen . . .* (Rock Island, Ill., 1942), pp. 59-60, 158-61.

⁸⁴ Carlson, *A History of North Park College*, pp. 6-20; Stephenson, *Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, p. 278; C. V. Bowman, "Ansgarius College," in *Swedish American Historical Bulletin*, II (1929), 19-25. Garrett Theological Institute also had an affiliate "Norwegian-Danish Theological Seminary" in the 1880s; see Frances E. Willard, *A Classic Town. The Story of Evanston by an Old Timer* (Evanston, Ill.: Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, 1891), pp. 41-42.

⁸⁵ Calkins, *They Broke the Prairie*, pp. 184-85, 191-94; Kilby, *Minority of One: The Biography of Jonathan Blanchard*, pp. 143-48; Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*, p. 252.

⁸⁶ Julian M. Sturtevant, "Denominational Colleges," in *New Englander*, XVIII (1860), 87; Sturtevant, *Autobiography*, pp. 273-74; Kilby, *Minority of One: The Biography of Jonathan Blanchard*, pp. 75-76, 82-83. Compare Knox College, *Inauguration of Newton Bateman*, pp. 13-14.

⁸⁷ *Rights of Congregationalists in Knox College; Being the Report of a Committee of Investigation, of the General Association of Illinois* (Chicago, 1859), p. 7.

⁸⁸ Spielman, *Diamond Jubilee History of Carthage College*, pp. 32-33, 36, 49-57, 73-78; Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Central Illinois, *Proceedings . . . Fourth Annual Convention . . .* (1869), pp. 15-16; and *Proceedings . . . Tenth Annual Convention . . .* (1875), pp. 20-21.

⁸⁹ Davenport, *Monmouth College*, pp. 53-54, 64; DeBlois, *Shurtleff College*, pp. 230-50; Watson, *Illinois Wesleyan Story*, pp. 76, 104, 114-16; Ward, *Story of Northwestern University*, p. 73; Willard, *Classic Town*, p. 87; "DePauw College for Young Ladies," in Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Eighteenth Report* (1870), pp. 120-22.

⁹⁰ Caroline M. Kirkland, "The Great Prairie State," in *Continental Monthly*, III (1863), 517; Tenney, *Still Abides the Memory*, pp. 39-40; A. A. Kendrick, *Shurtleff College. Inaugural Address, June 13, 1872* (pamphlet, Alton, Ill., 1872), p. 6; Ward, *Story of Northwestern University*, pp. 59-63; Willard, *Classic Town*, pp. 62-65; Harker, "Progress in the Illinois Conference, 1824-1924," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XVIII, 164-65; Watson, *Illinois Wesleyan Story*, pp. 98-100.

⁹¹ J. E. Roy, "Mutual Relations of Home Missions and Christian Colleges," in *Con-*

gregational Quarterly, XIX (1877), 545. See also DeBlois, *Pioneer School*, pp. 133ff., 143; Willard, *Classic Town*, pp. 135-36, 211; Rev. John O. Foster, "The First Des Plaines Camp Meeting, Des Plaines, Ill., August, 1860," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXIV (1932), 654-61; Rev. James Shaw, *Twelve Years in America: being observations on the country, the people, institutions and religion* (Chicago: Poe and Hitchcock, 1867), p. 223; Wilde, *Northwestern University*, I, 268; Ward, *Story of Northwestern University*, pp. 45-46, 52.

⁹² Fred J. Kelly and Ella B. Ratcliffe, *Privately Controlled Higher Education in the United States* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1934, No. 12), pp. 23-32. Compare Ward, *Story of Northwestern University*, pp. 52, 132, 166-67.

⁹³ American college records rarely include, as do those in Europe, information on the birthplaces, religious affiliations or fathers' occupations of their students. A comparison of the places of residence of 101 students enrolled at Shurtleff College in 1839-1840 and 143 (9 others being from towns the author could not locate) enrolled in 1876-1877 showed almost exactly the same numbers and proportions to have come from Alton, Upper Alton, and the surrounding county, and the net increase in enrollment to have stemmed entirely from students residing in more distant counties of Illinois or outside the state; see *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Shurtleff College . . . For the Year Ending July, 1840* (Alton, Ill., 1840), and *Semi-Centennial and General Catalogue of the Officers and Students for 50 Years—1827-77 . . .* (Upper Alton, Ill., 1877).

⁹⁴ George F. Magoun, "Relative Claims of Our Western Colleges," in *Congregational Quarterly*, XV (1873), 74. See also *Proceedings . . . Western Baptist Educational Convention* (1871), pp. 38-49, 74; Wilde, *Northwestern University*, I, 1-6; Ward, *Story of Northwestern University*, pp. 31-32; Watson, *Illinois Wesleyan Story*, p. 110; and James G. McClure, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Lake Forest, Illinois* (Lake Forest, Ill., 1905), pp. 9-24.

⁹⁵ Knox College, *Inauguration of Newton Bateman*, p. 10; Spielman, *Carthage College*, p. 38. Compare *Andreen of Augustana*, pp. 63-64.

⁹⁶ Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Eighteenth Report* (1870), pp. 33, 37, 62-63, 100. "Synopsis of Proceedings, 1884-1886," of the Indiana College Association shows about 40 percent of the papers devoted to "Special and Technical Education" and "National Science." Indiana College Association, *Officers, Members, Constitution and Titles of Papers* (n.p., 1887).

⁹⁷ Nevins, *Illinois*, pp. 43-45.

⁹⁸ Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, I, 299-300. See also Nevins, *Illinois*, pp. 60-65.

⁹⁹ Eli G. Lentz, *Seventy-Five Years in Retrospect, from Normal School to Teacher's College to University: Southern Illinois University, 1874-1949* (Carbondale, Ill.: University Editorial Board, Southern Illinois University, 1955), pp. 20-21, 24; Beyer, "Southern Illinois College," pp. 330-35; Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*, pp. 69-71, 252-53.

¹⁰⁰ Lentz, *Seventy-five Years in Retrospect*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁰¹ DeBlois, *Pioneer School*, p. 231; Watson, *Illinois Wesleyan Story*, pp. 79-85, 88-89, 92.

¹⁰² Ward, *Story of Northwestern University*, pp. 48, 100, 122-23; Wilde, *Northwestern University*, I, 245. Compare Rammelkamp, *Illinois College*, pp. 49-50; Walton, *McKendree College*, pp. 147-48; and Illinois Department of Public Instruction, *Seventh Biennial Report*, p. 230.

¹⁰³ Frederick T. Gates, "Introduction," in Thomas Goodspeed, *A History of the University of Chicago, Founded by John D. Rockefeller: The First Quarter-Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), pp. 4-35; Will Carson Ryan, *Studies in Early Graduate Education* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bulletin 30, 1939), pp. 95-96. Compare Goodspeed, *University of Chicago Biographical Sketches*, I, 68-75, and, for a recent fuller treatment which supersedes previous works, Richard J. Storr, *Harper's University: The Beginnings. A History of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 3-34.

¹⁰⁴ Timothy L. Smith, "Congregation, State, and Denomination: The Forming of the American Religious Structure," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXV (1968), 166-69, 171-75.

¹⁰⁵ For examples see Watson, *Illinois Wesleyan Story*, p. 113, and Kendrick, *Shurtleff Inaugural*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁶ Parke R. Kolbe, *Urban Influences on Higher Education in England and the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), pp. 112-15; Roscoe H. Eckelberry, *A History of the Municipal University in the United States* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin, No. 2, 1932), pp. 1-7.

¹⁰⁷ Harper's address in Ryan, *Studies in Early Graduate Education*, pp. 121-22. Compare *ibid.*, pp. 122-30; and Storr, *Harper's University*, pp. 35-52.

¹⁰⁸ Ward, *Story of Northwestern University*, pp. 123-24, 196-207, 235-40, 246, 344, 346; Wilde, *Northwestern University*, I, 362.

¹⁰⁹ Ryan, *Studies in Early Graduate Education*, pp. 127-28; Ward, *Story of Northwestern University*, pp. 356-57; W. G. Piersal, "The Wesley Foundation in Urbana: The Origin of an Idea," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXVIII (1945), 319-44; Nevins, *Illinois*, pp. 259-60.

¹¹⁰ Graham Taylor, *Chicago Commons Through Forty Years* (Chicago: Chicago Commons Association, 1936).

¹¹¹ Charles H. Coleman, *Eastern Illinois State College: Fifty Years of Public Service* (Charleston, Ill.: Eastern Illinois State College Bulletin, 1950), pp. 127-30. Compare Marian Talbot, *More than Lore* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pp. 61-63.

¹¹² Watson, *Illinois Wesleyan Story*, p. 140. Compare *ibid.*, pp. 135-41; Spielman, *Carthage College*, pp. 101-103, 110-11, 149-58, 168-70; and Attig, *Historical Sketches of North Central College*, pp. 11, 13, 22.

¹¹³ DeBlois, *Pioneer School*, p. 5; and *Illinois College Bulletin*, 1st ser., VII (1919),

3, and 2nd ser., XII (1923), 4-5. See also Spielman, *Carthage College*, pp. 144-47; "Survey Report to the President and Board of Trustees," mimeographed, c. 1949, pp. 154-61, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill.

¹¹⁴ Killip, *Minority of One: The Biography of Jonathan Blanchard*, pp. 137-82; Warren Wyeth Willard, *Fire on the Prairie: The Story of Wheaton College* (Wheaton, Ill.: Van Kampen Press, 1950), pp. 82-83, 102-103, 109-13, 120-25.

¹¹⁵ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millennialism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 240-47; Normal H. Kemp, "A Brief Historical Sketch of the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago," in *Moody Bible Institute Bulletin*, II (1916), 3-4, 8-10; R. E. Day, *Breakfast Table Autocrat: The Life Story of Henry P. Crowell* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1946), p. 165; and Wilbur Moorehead Smith, *A Watchman on the Wall: The Life Story of Will H. Houghton* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1951), pp. 102-103, 113.

The distinction between the rural sources of the membership and the urban setting of the major institutions of American fundamentalism, which Sandeen's stress upon the latter has only partially clarified, is based on several studies made by the author, and others in progress, of particular congregations and schools.

¹¹⁶ Carlson, *History of North Park College*, pp. 52-80, 125-29, 142-44.

¹¹⁷ Larkin, "Catholic Education in Illinois," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IV, 343-44; Mary M. Bowler, *A History of Catholic Colleges for Women in the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1933), pp. 51-56.

¹¹⁸ For early Salem see Indiana State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Eighteenth Report* (1870), pp. 117-18. For Goshen see Rodney James Sawatsky, "The Influence of Fundamentalism on Mennonite Nonresistance, 1908-1944" (M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1973), pp. 81-98; and Paul Peachy, "The Modern Recovery," in Guy F. Hershberger (ed.), *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision: A Sixtieth Anniversary Tribute to Harold S. Bender* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1962).

¹¹⁹ Tenney, *Still Abides the Memory*, pp. 48-53, 251-54; and Mary Alice Tenney, *Blueprint for a Christian World; an Analysis of the Wesleyan Way* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Light and Life Press, 1953). Compare Leslie Ray Marston, *From Age to Age a Living Witness: A Historical Interpretation of Free Methodism's First Century* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Tower Press, 1960), pp. 530-33, and, on "The Christian Nurture of Childhood," pp. 491-510.

¹²⁰ Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness, The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years* (Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), pp. 18, 40, 41, 45.

¹²¹ John Arch Morrison, *As The River Flows; the Autobiography of John A. Morrison* (Anderson, Ind.: Anderson College Press, 1962).

¹²² Mark Moore, *Fifty Years . . . and Beyond: A History of the Chicago Central District Church of the Nazarene* (Kankakee, Ill., 1954), pp. 116-17; "Minutes," June 20, 1908, May 1, 1909, June 11, 1910, March 6 and 7 and November 20, 1911, January

26, February 8, June 13, July 23, and November 1, 1912, and October 6, 1913, Records of the Board of Trustees, Illinois Holiness University, Olivet College, Bourbonnais, Ill.; Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, pp. 27-53, 257-71.

¹²⁸ Timothy L. Smith, "Lay Initiative in the Religious Life of American Immigrants, 1880-1930," in Tamara K. Hareven (ed.), *Anonymous Americans: Explorations in Nineteenth Century Social History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 241-43.